# PROTEST AND PROGRESS

## IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

HARRY

J. E. Grubb.

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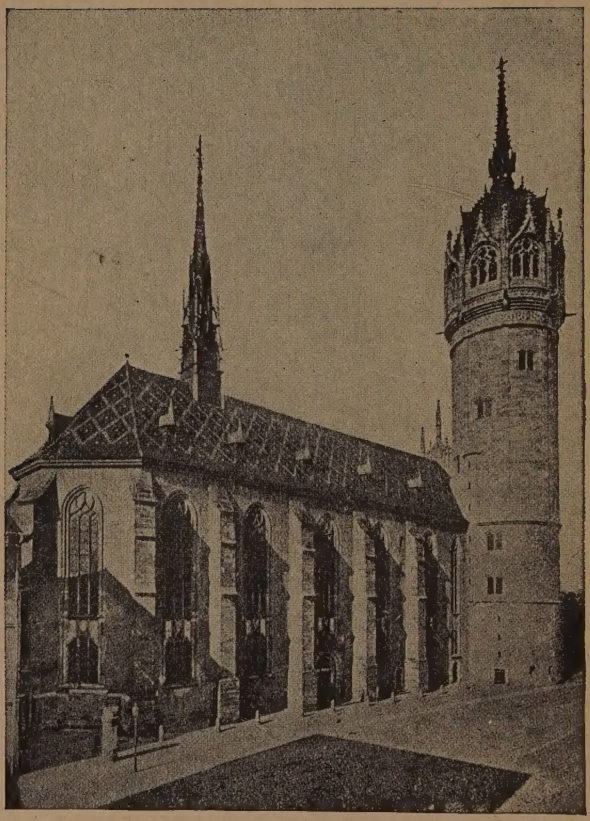

THE CASTLE CHURCH.

# PROTEST AND PROGRESS

*In the Sixteenth Century*

*By*

CAROLUS P. HARRY

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## *DEDICATION*

*To the Members of the Mission Study Classes at the* CHURCH OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, *Reading, Pa., whose interest and faithfulness have been my guide and inspiration in preparing this book.*

## FOREWORD.

This book has been prepared and issued at the suggestion of members of the Sub-Committee on Literature and Publicity for the Celebration of the Quadricentennial of the Reformation in response to numerous requests for such a volume received by the Executive Secretary, Howard R. Gold. To all our pastors, congregations, and study groups the book is cordially commended.

NATHAN R. MELHORN,
*Chairman.*

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## NOTE TO LEADERS OF STUDY CLASSES.

This book is planned on the lines of the popular Mission Study Books which have been issued for several years past by the Missionary Education Movement. It is intended for discussion in classes, especially in Lutheran congregations, though it will be found useful in any group studying the Reformation.

The CLASS. Ten or a dozen are plenty for a class. If more desire to do the work, organize another class.

The MEETINGS should last for about one hour. They should be held every week for eight to ten weeks. One chapter should be discussed at each meeting.

I usually open my study class meetings with prayer.

The text should be read and studied by the members of the class at home.

The QUESTIONS at the end of each chapter should form the basis of the discussion. Assign one or more questions to each member of the class, so that they may report on that specific question at the next meeting. The questions are intended to throw into relief the important points in the text. They are also intended to stimulate thought on the part of the members and discus-

sion in the class. It is hoped that the somewhat personal questions will enable the students to personally apply the principles they have been studying, so that the book may be cultural and not merely informing. The leader should not answer questions which may arise in class without first promoting discussion by eliciting the opinions of the members of the class before giving his opinion. The aim should always be to have the class discuss the questions and so form an opinion as a class. I will be glad to assist in answering the questions of leaders for which their own resources may be insufficient, if return postage is sent with the inquiry.

I would urge leaders to obtain the following pamphlets:

*Lutheranism at a Glance, by Rev. J. R. E. Hunt.*

*Distinctive Doctrines of Lutheranism, by A. G. Voigt, D.D.*

*The Reformation and Its Effects, by C. H. Sipes.*

*Four Centuries of Luther, by Rev. A. R. Wentz, Ph.D.*

Prof. Willis M. West's Modern History (for High Schools) will be helpful in a more thorough understanding of the first two chapters. Dr. McGiffert's Martin Luther, the Man and His Work, or Dr. Preserved Smith's The Life and Letters of Martin Luther will assist in a more de-

tailed appreciation of the rest of the book. Dr. Lindsay's History of the Reformation should also be used. Davis' "Friar of Wittenberg," gives a vivid and interesting picture of the life and manners of the time of the Reformation though it sometimes sacrifices historic accuracy to the movement of the story.

# CHAPTER I.

## Political Movements at the Time of the Reformation.

History, like life, is a unit in which various factors interplay inseparably. To describe any period of history, however, we must endeavor to analyze it and describe its parts. Three factors are especially important in Reformation history, namely, the political and social, the intellectual, and the religious.

To describe any period of history we must analyze it.

Political conditions at the time of the Reformation played a large part in its success. There had been many attempts at reformation before Luther. Great kings, councils and popes as well as abbots, monks, priests and knights had realized the need of reform and had attempted it in various ways. "The fullness of time" had not come; God had not prepared the nations for it. He controls the course of history. With all the freedom of choice for good or evil He has given to men, He still sits upon the throne and overrules all our works to the accomplishment of His eternal purpose. "In the fullness of time God sent forth His Son." So it ever is. In the fullness of time God sends forth His prophets and they dominate the course of history. So it was

The fullness of time.

in Luther's time; so it will be to-day. Out of the great turmoil of contemporary history shall come a prophet from whose personality and life future history will grow.

We must always study history in the light of *historic movements;* it is a mistake to think only of *historic situations.* A given situation is of little importance; the trend of a movement is vital. History is like a stream, not a lake. The stream of history, however, is dominated by great personalities whose thought and life take color from their surroundings and in some degree are moulded by them, but whose essential principles and characters rise above their time and change the course of history like rocks in the midst of the stream. Such were the great reformers.

The stream of history.

The Reformation came somewhat past the middle of a great movement from one ideal of political life to another. Six hundred years before the Reformation men's ideals of political life were held fast by the thought of universal empire. To-day, four hundred years after the Reformation, nationalism is complete and is nearly ready to give way to the newer ideal of internationalism. From the time when Rome's soldiers set forth on world conquest until the Reformation men thought of Rome as the mistress of the world; first, as a great empire, then, when that crumbled under the attacks of the northern barbarians and its own corruption, as a universal church whose dominion extended over

From universal empire

the whole world and over men's souls to all eternity. The ideal of world empire had been revived under Charlemagne and with varying degrees of realization had continued until the time of Charles V., before whom Luther stood at Worms.

We no longer think or dream of one nation dominating the world. We live in the time of great nations—England, Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Brazil, Japan, United States of America. Throughout the civilized world men are gathered into nations, separated in most cases by natural geographic boundaries of mountains, seas or rivers and distinguished from each other by language, laws, customs and social life. Some peoples had achieved national unity at the time of the Reformation; others, and notably Germany, were divided into countless numbers of semi-independent duchies, dukedoms, free cities, etc.

Through Nationalism

We are living near the end of the epoch of nationalism. The next few generations will, doubtless, witness another great change in political ideals, if we do not see it ourselves. The world is nearly ready to move from nationalism which stands by itself and regards all other nations with suspicion to internationalism which regards all others as brothers to be helped and from whom we may expect good-will and favor.

To Internationalism.

Several factors had tended to separate people into groups or nations, to determine their boundaries and to produce national spirit.

Factors producing Nationalism.

The Sea-barrier.

1. Natural Barriers. Until a few years before Luther was born the sea had been a natural barrier separating people effectually. But it became a highway instead of a barrier after the land routes to India were closed when the Turks captured Constantinople in 1453 and the early discoverers found the way to India by sea around the Cape of Good Hope. It was due to this ancient sea-barrier that England developed a national life sooner than other European nations. It is partly because we have learned to navigate the sea so well that internationalism is advancing very rapidly. The wide ocean has become a convenient highroad for the exchange of goods and ideas, uniting the nations in interests and sympathies.

Mountain and River Barriers.

Mountains and rivers separated people. France was shut in by the sea, the Rhine, the Alps, the Rhone and the Pyrenees. The mountains and the sea bounded Spain; the mountains separated Italy and Germany. When natural barriers are surmounted and people meet there is first suspicion, robbery, enmity and war; then, commerce, mutual understanding and alliance. European history illustrates this.

Hereditary Monarchies

2. Hereditary Monarchies. The people who had lived under a long line of sovereigns in the same family were more closely bound into national unity than those people whose rulers were being constantly changed. The people came to

look up to the reigning family and to combine personal loyalty and public interest. Such reigning families were able by marriage and warfare to overcome lesser nobles who opposed them, and by favoring the people's cause against the nobles to win their good-will and loyalty.

Medieval Social Classes:

3. Rise of the "Middle Class." For many centuries a simple agricultural life in which there were three classes of people dominated Europe. The nobles owned all the land. Their holdings were hereditary. Their occupations were fighting each other, following the chase and oppressing the peasants. It is true they also made laws, held court and administered an elementary justice; but as a rule they governed for their own advantage rather than the good of their peasant subjects.

Nobles,

Peasants,

The peasants were like slaves. They fought their lords' battles and tilled the land to which they were "attached," and made the rude clothing and tools they needed. In those days a man and his land went together; a peasant could not move from his cottage to another without his lord's permission. This was seldom given. If the land were sold the man and his family were sold with it. He was as much a part of the land as the house in which he lived. The peasants received no wages; but they were allowed to keep what they could raise on narrow strips of land after they had paid heavy taxes to their lord.

They were subject always to his call for military or other service.

Clergy.

The third class was the clergy. It included all who were officially connected with the Church. Some were great bishops and archbishops who lived in state like mighty lords and followed the manners and customs of the princes and dukes about them; others were monks who lived in fine monasteries, owning rich estates; others were begging friars who went from place to place living on the alms of the people; last of all were the parish priests who were as poor and ignorant as the peasants to whom they ministered. The clergy received a tenth of the produce of the land.

Rise of the Towns

During the century following the Crusades a new class of people arose. They were manufacturers and merchants, living in towns. The towns were originally farming villages, fortified to resist the attacks of hostile barons. It was easier for the peasants to defend their homes and families behind a wall or stockade than in the open country. The nobles encouraged them to do this because the fortified villages assisted them in holding their lands against hostile neighbors. Some of the great nobles granted those living in fortified towns special privileges and rights. In Germany the Emperor granted charters to certain of the larger fortified towns by which they were subject only to the Emperor himself.

These cities were called "free cities." They played an important part in the history of the Empire.

Beginning in a small way goods were sold at annual fairs held in the towns or at crossroads. Purchases were made by trading with very little use of money. Gradually the towns where the fairs were customarily held, grew larger. Craftsmen settled there. Travelling merchants began to go from place to place. So in the course of time it came about that there were many men living in the towns who were nobody's peasants. They had become unattached craftsmen or merchants. The craftsmen lived by hand-work in leather, brass and wood or by weaving, tailoring, smithing and other crafts. The merchants bought the articles manufactured by the craftsmen and sold them at a profit in other places. When the nobles attempted to hamper them in their crafts or trade, they organized into guilds in which they also guarded the standard of their goods, defended each other against rivals, and trained young men to take their places and extend their trade.

and of the Middle Class;

Craftsmen,

Traders,

Guilds.

Thus in the course of time a class of free craftsmen and traders grew up, acknowledging no overlord, banded together into guilds and living in free and independent towns. Among them money, banking and credit was revived and used instead of barter. The Jews were the leaders in trade and banking.

Money, Banking and Credit.

Town Leagues.

As trade spread and goods were exported across the sea or the mountains, groups of towns formed leagues to defend their merchants against robbers and to secure just rights in other lands.

The Growing Power of the Middle Class strengthened Nationalism

The nobles and clergy frequently borrowed from the middle class bankers and traders. This strengthened the middle class and brought the nobles and clergy under obligations to them. The kings favored the towns against the nobles. This also strengthened the middle class and promoted national unity. For by their common language, their common needs, their common standards of exchange the towns of each country grew closer together and became a powerful factor in stimulating national patriotism which was slowly rising in western Europe.

The Black Death and the Right to Wages.

The power of the middle class was much increased in the Fourteenth Century by the Black Death, a great epidemic, which raged in Europe, in many places carrying away half the population. This enabled the peasants who survived to dictate to their masters who sorely needed their support. They won the right to serve for wages and to move freely. This reduced the peasant class and increased the middle class.

The Civil Wars Weaken the Nobles.

At the same time the nobles were weakened by fierce struggles among themselves in which many were slain and which cost them much money, bringing them under still greater obligations to the merchants and bankers.

A brief glance at a map will show how far these national movements had progressed and how the different nations of Europe were related to each other at the time of the Reformation. The Map in 1517.

In ENGLAND nationalism was far advanced. England owed this chiefly to her island position; but, also, to a long line of hereditary sovereigns, to the wars between great rival families, called "The Wars of the Roses," and to the Black Death which contributed to the power of her peasant groups and merchants guilds. England.

FRANCE, too, was a well centralized monarchy of somewhat the same boundaries as at present, though to the east there were several independent duchies in the Rhine valley. Centralization in France was due particularly to the long line of hereditary kings who by judicious marriages with great nobles secured by inheritance most of the land, and by favorable wars with the others, overcame them and took their property. National feeling had become well established in France through the Hundred Years' War with the English kings. France.

SWITZERLAND. The Swiss cantons, as the small states in the mountains were called, had been banded into the Swiss Confederacy since early in the Fourteenth Century. There was no noble over them as a sovereign and the practical establishment of the Swiss Republic came soon after the middle of that century. Switzerland.

Scandinavia.

DENMARK, NORWAY and SWEDEN, each of which had been a more or less well organized monarchy since they appeared in European history, formed practically one nation at the beginning of the Reformation by the Union of Calmar, a treaty made in 1397, by which each of the three kingdoms retained its own constitution and laws under one hereditary sovereign. Before 1500 this had made Norway and Sweden practically dependencies of Denmark.

Spain.

SPAIN under Ferdinand and Isabella had become a united monarchy in 1492 with practically the same boundaries as today. Their grandson, Charles, was elected Emperor (see below) and was a sovereign whose vacillation had much to do with the successful establishment of the Reformation in Germany.

The Netherlands.

THE NETHERLANDS were a group of semi-independent duchies and free cities which a century before had maintained their allegiance to the great Duchy of Burgundy. Burgundy had become united with the possessions of the dukes of Austria by marriage.

Italy.

The Papal States.

Naples.

ITALY was divided. In the center were the Papal States governed directly as a political unit by the Pope. To the south of his lands was the Kingdom of Naples, extending to the extreme south of Italy and including the island of Sicily. In consequence of wars and marriages of the preceding century this kingdom was ruled

by the King of Spain. Four great cities controlled the north of Italy—Venice to the east, Milan and Florence in the center, Genoa to the west.

The Cities of the North.

Italy had been closely related to Germany for many centuries through the constant attempts of German princes to control Italy as the Emperors of the "Holy Roman Empire" and of the Pope to control Germany as the head of the Catholic Church. The struggles between Pope and Emperor for supremacy are an outstanding feature of history for several centuries preceding, culminating at one time in the complete submission of the Emperor and at other times in the humiliation of the Pope. Still the Pope held spiritual dominion over the vast masses of the people throughout Europe. Whether he was successful or not in his political ambitions the people still looked up to him as the Vicar of Christ and the priests and bishops who represented him for entrance to heaven and pardon for sin. The significant fact about the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century is that the people broke their allegiance to the Pope and found assurance of absolution and salvation apart from him.

Ambitions of the Popes and Emperors.

GERMANY. When Charlemagne's great empire broke up, the eastern part of it continued to be known as the Empire and its ruler as the Emperor. At times one or another of the Emperors succeeded in making the Germans a fairly well

Germany.

united nation. Several things, however, brought about disunion. In the first place, the office of Emperor did not remain for a long time in any one family, so that it continued to be regarded as an elective office and not an hereditary one.

The Emperor.

There were many disputes and much difficulty was frequently experienced among the haughty nobles in the election of an Emperor, until the matter was regulated by the "Golden Bull" which was promulgated by the Emperor and approved by the Diet or congress of nobles in 1356. The Golden Bull provided that seven of the great nobles should elect the Emperor. They were the archbishops of Mayence, Cologne and Trier, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine of the Rhine. These seven were known as the "Electors." After that no other nobles had any part in selecting the Emperor, although they did have the right to sit in the Diet. The Diet was similar to the English Parliament, in that it raised money for the Emperor by taxation and afforded a means of understanding and coöperation among the nobles.

The Golden Bull.

The Diet.

The Emperors did not devote their time to the consolidation and improvement of Germany as the kings of France had done in their country, but wasted their strength and opportunities in vainly trying to control Italy also, in order that they might really be "Kings of Rome."

For to be King of Rome, which was part of their official title, meant more to them than to be Emperor of Germany. The old idea of the world-sovereignty of Rome had not yet died out. This was the cause of countless quarrels which prevented Italy and Germany from becoming unified. "Kings of Rome."

In 1433 Albert, Duke of Austria, was chosen Emperor and from that time onward the title continued in the ruling house of Austria, known in history as the Hapsburgs. It was not the first time the title had been in that family, but it remained there until it was abolished in 1806. In 1493 Maximilian I., the grandson of Albert, was elected Emperor. He tried hard to reconstruct the Empire and make a nation for himself like England or France but the petty jealousies and ambitions of the local princes, with his own incompetence, prevented that. The Hapsburgs.

Germany was nothing more than an extremely loose federation of great and small nobles and free cities. In some cases their dominions included only a few hundred acres surrounding their fortified castles or towns; in others they extended for many square miles. Yet great and small alike were absolute sovereigns in their own territories, ruling each according to his own laws, levying custom duties on all who passed through, sometimes even freely robbing the merchants who went by their castles. Each was free to coin his own money and to administer justice A Loose Federation. The Nobles.

in his own way and to make war on any or all the others as pleased him. Likewise the free cities controlled the country in their own neighborhood. They were fortified by walls and castles and were prepared either to stand siege or to send their burger armies into the field to maintain their rights or extend their power or protect their trade. They also made their own laws, coined their money and were especially jealous of the nobles and their power. They were always ready to fight them. They were represented in the Diet along with the nobles. The cities were banded into great leagues for mutual defense at home and abroad. The principal leagues were the Hanseatic League in the north, the Rhenish in the Rhine region, and the Swabian.

The Free Cities.

Maximilian I. married Mary of Burgundy, thus uniting Austria and Burgundy, the Netherlands and the Hapsburg possessions on the upper Rhine. Their son, Philip, married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, uniting Spain, Naples and Sicily to these possessions. In 1519 his son, Charles, was elected Emperor Charles V., adding the great estates of Germany to the already vast empire inherited from his father.

Charles V. and his Dominions.

One other national factor must be noted—the Turk. The Turks captured the city of Constantinople in 1453, gaining a foothold in southeastern Europe. From the neighborhood of Con-

FREDERICH, THE WISE.

stantinople the Danube valley stretches up into northern Europe affording a natural highway for trade or war. At the opening of the Sixteenth Century the Turks had pushed up nearly to the boundaries of Austria and were threatening Christendom. The Turks were Mohammedans, seeking to extend their power and religion by the sword.

The Turks.

It is true "the wrath of man shall praise Thee." God uses the nations as His instruments. He putteth down one and setteth up another, not always in accordance with their virtue, but in the working out of His eternal purposes. The very condition of Europe was, therefore, a large factor in the success of the Reformation. The rivalry of the King of France and the King of Spain and the Pope and their varying alliances and disagreements, the disintegrated condition of Germany and Italy and the bids for the favor of the German people and especially of the elector of Saxony, Luther's sovereign and protector, along with the constant and at times acute danger of Turkish invasion, led to innumerable delays in the attempts of the Roman Church to crush Luther and his followers, until at last his teachings had taken such firm root they could not be overthrown.

God rules the Nations.

## QUESTIONS.

1. Why should we consider historic movements rather than historic situations?
2. Was Luther the first reformer?
3. What is meant by "the fullness of time"?
4. Was the Reformation period such?
5. From what ideal of political life and toward what ideal were the people of Europe moving?
6. Is Nationalism the final ideal?
7. What is meant by internationalism?
8. What natural barriers have helped in the realization of Nationalism?
9. Why do they not continue to do so?
10. What classes of people were there before the national movement grew strong?
11. What new class hastened the national movement and how?
12. How did that class arise?
13. What new things did they introduce in trade?
14. How did they become powerful?
15. In how far had the following peoples become nations: England? France? Switzerland? Scandinavia? The Netherlands? Spain? Italy? Germany?
16. How were Spain, The Netherlands, Italy and Germany related during the Reformation?
17. Who elected the Emperor?
18. What was the Diet?
19. Why did not Italy and Germany become nations like France or England?
20. How did that help the Reformation?
21. What other people influenced the history of the Sixteenth Century? How?
22. Do you believe in Providence?
23. Does God control history?

## CHAPTER II.

### Changes in Life and Thought Before the Reformation.

It is difficult for us to realize the low tone and filthy conditions of western Europe preceding the Reformation. Living conditions were squalid. Low frame and mud houses with thatched roofs were the rule in the country and in the villages. A few of the wealthy in the larger cities had barn-like stone houses with tile roofs, some of which may still be seen, but there were no comforts and no attempt at sanitation was made. The houses were not heated, except from the hearth. Some of the rich had just begun to use stoves. Waste was dumped at the most convenient place which was usually the street near the front door. The streets were crooked and narrow, without paving or grading. In dry weather they were filthy with dust; in winter or after a storm they were deep with slimy mud.

Low Standards of Living.

The towns simply grew up along the roads. The houses were crowded together as closely as possible, following the twists and turns of the road. There were no street lights. The danger of thieves and the perilous condition of the

streets prevented any one going out at night, except with a guard carrying lanterns and arms.

Inside the house it was not much better. Animals shared the home with the family. They dragged filth everywhere. Fleas, lice and other vermin were common on both people and animals. Plague and pestilence spread with amazing rapidity.

The Beginning of Better Things.

Yet the beginning of better things was already evident. Most of the great churches which are still the admiration of the world were begun and some of them were nearly completed. The merchants had fine guild halls with beautiful meeting rooms where the plans of the guild were made and its affairs directed. Great castles and city walls were so well built that they still stand.

Coarse Manners and Language.

Manners were as coarse and language was as filthy as the streets. We are often shocked by the coarseness of the addresses and letters of even the most pious men and women of those times. In Germany this was due in part to the natural coarseness of a people just emerging from semi-civilization; in Italy it was the result of the degrading influence of pagan life and thought which was then being imitated. Many things never mentioned among us were constantly spoken of, used as jokes or even as illustrations in the sermons of the preachers. The literature read and enjoyed by the best and most pious people was positively indecent. The Reformation

began somewhat past the beginning of a new era of thought and feeling, which was more open and clean in mind and manner of life.

Until the year 1000, roughly speaking, there were very few schools. Little change in manner of life or thought had taken place for several centuries.

Intellectual Stagnation before 1000 A. D.

The peasant tilled the same strips of ground that his father and grandfather had tilled. He used the same crude implements and worked in the same time-honored way. He tended the descendants of the same sheep and goats his ancestors had. He sheared the wool and the women made homespun in the same way that preceding generations had done. They made and ate the same cheese and the same coarse bread. They brewed the same kind of beer and drank the same kinds of wines.

The knights fought as their fathers had done with the same weapons and against the same hereditary enemies in neighboring castles. They judged their peasants' disputes by the same rules and in the same spirit that their fathers did.

The clergy droned out the same Latin masses and celebrated the same festivals in the same way that the Church had done for generations. Each learned what he needed to know from those preceding him. The only schools were at the cathedrals. The cathedral schools trained the priests to recite the Latin service and the choirs to make

the proper responses. They learned only so much Latin as they needed to repeat the services. They learned it by rote from dictation. Few could either read or write. There was little paper. Few books were written. It was difficult to multiply and publish those they had. Few thought of writing anything new or of questioning what they thought always had been and always would be.

Breaking up the old ways.

Three things broke up the old lethargy. The Crusades opened men's eyes to a kind of life that was different from that to which they had always been accustomed. Trade with the East did the same thing. Contact with the Arabians, especially at their great universities in Spain taught them a new learning and new ways of thinking.

Aristotle's Influence.

From the Arabians the teachers of western Europe learned Aristotle, the great philosopher of the Greeks. His methods and ideas were quickly adopted and spread almost everywhere.

Schools and Universities Opened.

Merchants established schools at the larger centers to train their sons and apprentices in business, law, and medicine. Men's minds began to open. Soon groups of young men became associated with wise or famous teachers who taught them all that they knew. This is the beginning of the universities. They were as truly universities as ours are. Though their curriculum was very limited, it included all men knew.

Dominated by Aristotle.

The teaching at the universities was based on Aristotle's logic, physics and other writings. The methods were those he prescribed. His works were known only in Latin translations which were not always accurate. The teachers were usually monks assigned to that duty. The students passed through grades in the same way as the craftsmen passed the various degrees of their trade. First they received the "bachelor's" degree, then the "master's," carrying the right to teach, and then the "doctor's" which carried the right to teach teachers and control their work. These degrees are still retained by our colleges and universities.

The Degrees.

The Studies.

"Arts."

The studies were in two groups. The first was called the "trivium"; it consisted of language, rhetoric, and logic. The second was called the "quadrivium"; it consisted of music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy.

The universities were chartered, usually by the Pope. In addition to the "arts" course just outlined they furnished courses in law, medicine and theology. They were under strong ecclesiastical influence and theology soon occupied the place of highest honor. Like everything else, it was taught by Aristotle's method of logical deduction.

Law.

Medicine.

Theology.

The Scholastic Method.

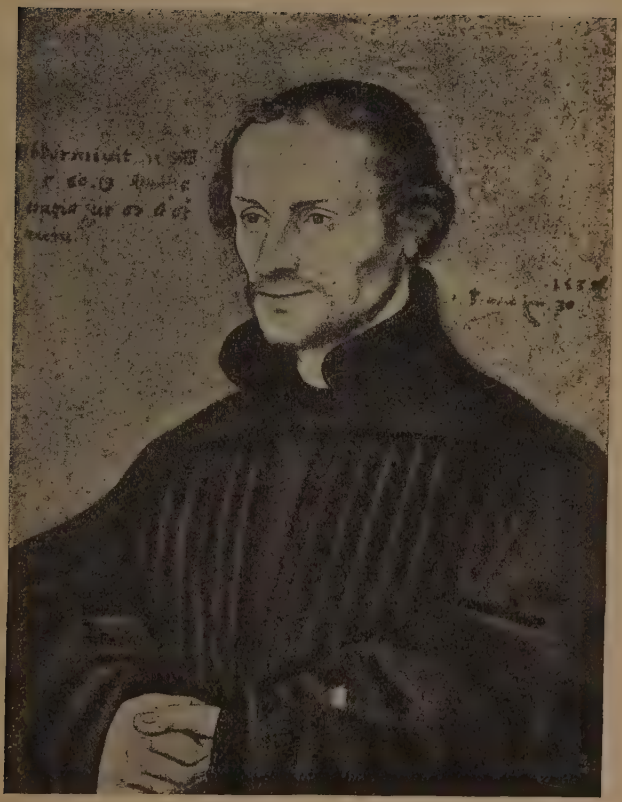
The syllogism is the basis of this method. It is a process of pure reasoning from one thing to another. For example; A is like B, B is like

The Syllogism.

C, therefore A is like C. This is a perfectly good system and leads to correct results if we are careful to see that our premises or first two propositions are true and that they are of the same class or so related that they may fairly be compared. Most errors in reasoning arise from mistakes in one or both of these things. For example: A stone is hard; this table is hard; therefore this table is a stone. That is bad reasoning. Both premises are true enough, but they are not so related as to be comparable in that way. Instances might be multiplied. The error is easily detected in common things where our experience sets us right. In less familiar things false premises and false conclusions are frequent. For example in the following syllogism the error is not noticed. All men are equal; equals have the same rights: therefore, all men should have the same income, property, leisure, etc. We accept without question the truth of the first premise. It is really false. All men are not equal. In fact no two men are equal.

Unquestioned Premises.

The teachers of the Middle Ages did not question their premises. In law they derived them partly from Aristotle and partly from the Roman laws preserved in the Canon, or Church, Law and in the civil laws of the Empire and the customs of their fathers. In medicine the premises were furnished by Aristotle's acute but frequently mistaken and always incomplete ob-



MELANCHTHON.

servations. In theology they found them in the dogmas of the Church. This system of thought is called Scholasticism. It dominated the minds of Europe for centuries and produced great intellectual nimbleness with a blindness to actual facts which is very remarkable. Until men began to question their premises and to observe facts, they could not advance, however hard they might reason. Until that took place their thoughts were held in a bondage as immovable as the lethargy from which Aristotle had aroused them.

Alchemy and Astrology.

Science was confined almost exclusively to alchemy and astrology. Alchemy was the search for a reagent which would transform base metals into gold. In that search they laid the foundations for modern physics and chemistry. Astrology observed the stars and their relative positions in order to cast a horoscope by which to foretell the future. In so doing it ignorantly prepared the way for modern astronomy. One of the foremost scholars of the Reformation, Melanchthon, was a firm believer in astrology. Luther derided the suggestions of Copernicus which are the foundation of modern astronomy, and condemned them as contrary to Scripture.

Critics Silenced.

Very few voices had been raised before the middle of the Fifteenth Century in question of the system or its conclusions. Such were Abelard (died 1142) and Bacon (died 1294). They

were quickly silenced by the stern authority of the Church and the immobility of the times.

The Reformers were University Men.

It is especially important to note these facts of university life for all the Reformers were university men. Luther, for example, did his work as a university professor, a doctor of theology, not as a priest or monk. He began it as a critical opposition to the current bondage to Aristotle and the dogmas of the Church unsupported by Scripture.

Early in the Fourteenth Century a new educational movement began which in many respects paved the way for the Reformation. In Holland a Brotherhood had been formed for mutual help in practicing Christianity. The members of the Brotherhood copied books, preached and taught children. The Brothers and Sisters, for it included women, were not bound by vows like monks and nuns, but they associated voluntarily. They usually had a common house and a common purse. They were called the "Brethren of the Common Life." The movement spread rapidly. Establishments of the Brethren of the Common Life were soon found in every considerable town in western Europe. Their influence was of the best and their teaching was of a high order. Through their schools and the spirit cultivated in them they prepared many for the changes which came with the Renaissance and the Reformation. They had schools in Germany even for girls.

Secondary Schools and the Brethren of the Common Life.

Their success led many towns to open public schools under municipal control.

The Renaissance.

During the four hundred years of Scholasticism there had been little change in thought or teaching. But shortly before the Reformation the very foundations were overturned. Men started on a new line of development in which we are still progressing and of which no man can see the end. The beginning of it is called the Renaissance.

Troubadours.

Until 1300 all writing and learning had been in Latin. No one thought of writing literature or philosophy in the common language of the people. But early in the Fourteenth Century occasional bands of wandering troubadours or minnesingers sang love songs and heroic ballads at fairs or in the castles of the knights. Their songs were unwritten, but they were usually in the language of the people.

Dante.

In the same century Dante began modern literature by writing his Divine Comedy in the language of the people of Florence where he lived. It is one of the immortal works of literary art. It describes in verse what the author saw in Hell and Purgatory and Heaven. At the same time it criticizes and satirizes many things in the life of his times.

Two other great Florentine writers stand at the beginning of the Renaissance. Petrach created the sonnet form in poetry and collected

ancient Greek manuscripts and works of art. Boccacio is the father of modern prose fiction.

Humanism.

The whole movement in literature and thought is called Humanism. It turned men's minds away from the Church and the school of the preceding centuries to the freer life of the old Greeks and their art and literature. Many Greek writings long neglected were discovered and translated. Men began to learn to read and speak Greek. This enabled them to read Aristotle in the original. They discovered the errors of the current Latin translations. This shook the foundations of the old system.

Influence of Greek Ideas and Literature.

Acquaintance with Plato, who was still greater than Aristotle in Greek philosophy, further undermined the old standards. All of this was accelerated after the Turks captured Constantinople in 1453 and forced thousands of Greek Christians to flee. They found a home and a welcome in western Europe where they taught and interpreted Greek. Everywhere literary clubs or "humanist circles" were formed. Men spent much time in reading Greek poems and essays and in imitating them in their own lives and writings. They sought to be as much like Greeks as possible. They broke the chains which bound them to the past with wonderful quickness and started to live a free and pagan life like that of ancient Greece. Greek life was morally rotten. Its lewdness and vice spread in soil well pre-

pared for it by the external severity and secret vice of the past. Christianity was out of fashion in Italy. The Popes lived like Greek nobles and affected Greek manners. Luxury and frivolity prevailed.

The Renaissance in Art.

Art showed the effects of the Renaissance as well as literature and philosophy. Gothic architecture gave place to a revival of ancient Greek and Roman models. The best examples of Gothic architecture are the great cathedrals of Germany and France and the guild-houses of Germany and Holland. Its characteristic features are the pointed arch springing from the top of columns without a capital, vaulting, wonderful traceries and mouldings running along the columns and the vaultings. Flying buttresses often appear on the outside of the buildings. The windows were narrow. They were filled with stained glass in which the designs were wrought as in a mosaic by putting small pieces of the glass together and holding them in place by leading.

Features of Gothic.

Features of Renaissance Architecture.

In the Renaissance the round-headed arch of the Romans takes the place of the pointed arch. Capitals appear on the columns in one of the old Greek forms. The flat line of Greek architecture takes the place of the vertical of the Gothic. The exuberance of the Renaissance shows itself in new and abundant decorations. Painting and carving sought to reproduce nature

instead of the conventional designs customary in Gothic. Painted glass takes the place of glass mosaics in the windows.

When the scholastic philosophy was shaken it involved the traditional theology. The dogmas of the Church had been woven into a system by means of the scholastic method and in harmony with scholastic philosophy. When scholasticism passed, the theology which was its child, was also questioned. Moreover as men became accustomed to reading Greek they naturally turned to the original of the New Testament which was Greek. In reading and studying it they discovered mistranslations in the Latin to which they were accustomed. These sometimes lay at the basis of dogmas, thereby calling them into question also. In this way men became used to questioning and criticizing the teachings of the Church.

Traditional Theology Questioned.

Still other movements and discoveries augmented the disturbance. After several attempts by others, Gutenberg made printing from movable type practical about 1450. Presses were set up everywhere. A new and better process of making paper was discovered about the same time. Books could therefore be multiplied at a rapid rate. New movements and discoveries became known all over Europe much more quickly than in the old days. Reading and writing were stimulated. What had been known only to a

Printing.

few in the lecture halls of the universities could now be had by every one. Merchants read as they traveled on their carts. Craftsmen read in the intervals of labor.

Increase in Number of Readers.

The mariners' compass with its needle always indicating north came into practical use. This enabled sailors to pass out of sight of land with less fear than before and to keep a straight course. When the Turks captured Constantinople they closed the old caravan routes by which merchants carried European goods to India and Cathay and brought back gems, silks, and spice. The spice trade was especially important in those times because there was no refrigeration. Eatables could be kept only by spicing them. Spices and condiments were used in large quantities in the preparation of food in order to make it palatable. It was therefore very important that trade with the spice lands of the East should be kept up. Adventurous sea-captains found their way down the west coast of Africa. At last, in 1498, Vasco da Gama reached India around the Cape of Good Hope.

The Mariners' Compass.

New Trade Routes.

The Spice Trade.

Da Gama.

Before that, Columbus had been urging upon an unbelieving world his theory that the earth is round, so that by sailing west one would ultimately reach the East. Men had always thought the world was flat. There were a few exceptions but their views were not accepted and Columbus had great difficulty in securing backing

Columbus.

The Round World.

for his daring scheme. We all know the result. It is hard, however, to imagine the shock to men's thoughts to find that the solid earth which looks so flat is really round. Columbus' discovery seemed to prove it. Magellan's great voyage did prove it, when his storm-beaten ships arrived in Spain after three years continual sailing to the west.

Magellan.

The stagnation and dogmatism of six hundred years had been shaken to its foundation. New political ideas were crystallizing. A new economic situation had arisen. New relations subsisted between social classes.* The universities taught a new philosophy and a new theology. A new art, a new literature and new sciences flourished. The common man, who had never had a book to read and for whom a book had never been written, could purchase them in his own language on almost any subject at the fairs and innumerable bookshops. The books were written for him. They shattered his ideas on many subjects. Aristotle and the universities had been wrong. The basis of some of the old doctrines rested on a mistranslation or misunderstanding of the Scriptures. The old ideas of art and beauty were changed and liberated. The flat earth was shown to be round. Men had reached the East by sailing west. No wonder that the words of the Reformers were heard and that

All Things New.

*See preceding chapter.

men responded to them. Never before had life been so shaken to its very foundations, as the startling events of the Fifteenth Century had shaken it.

The Reformation, part of the Renovation.

When men's minds are open and inquiring, when they have the courage to cast off the guesses of their fathers for the facts of their own experience, when the means of diffusing knowledge are widespread, when unheard of things are happening with startling frequency and no one knows what may take place next, above all, when there is a youthful spirit of enthusiasm and vigorous living, progress is made, old things pass away, all things become new. The Reformation was part of that renovation of the civilization of western Europe.

## QUESTIONS.

1. Contrast conditions of life in the towns of the Middle Ages with present-day conditions.
2. Is it fair to judge the standards of the Fifteenth Century by those of today?
3. Does the fact that low standards are general make them right?
4. Describe the intellectual conditions before the year 1000 A. D.
5. What factors led to a change then?
6. How did the universities begin?
7. What is the system of thought of the Middle Ages called?
8. Upon whose teaching is it founded?
9. What methods did it employ?

10. Give an original illustration of the dangers of the method?
11. What studies formed the "arts" course? What other courses were offered?
12. What were the two great sciences of the Middle Ages?
13. How did they pave the way for two modern sciences?
14. Name two medieval critics.
15. Who were the Brethren of the Common Life?
16. What did they do?
17. What was the new movement of the Fifteenth Century called?
18. Who first used the language of the people for anything except conversation and business?
19. Who were the great leaders of the Renaissance in Italy?
20. What did each do?
21. What is Humanism?
22. How did Humanism affect morals in Italy?
23. What changes took place in art and architecture as a result of the Renaissance?
24. How did the Renaissance affect knowledge of the Bible?
25. What affected theology?
26. How did the invention of printing stimulate changes in thought?
27. Why were spices important?
28. How did their use result in geographic discoveries?
29. What striking change took place in men's ideas of the earth?
30. Who proved that the world is round?
31. What relation do these changes bear to the Reformation?
32. Are our times similar or dissimilar to the times of the Renaissance? Give the reasons for your answer.
33. Would this be a favorable time for another Reformation? Give the reasons for your answer.

## CHAPTER III.

### Religious Movements Before the Reformation.

Before the Reformation there was only one Church in all of western Europe. It was ruled by the Bishop of Rome. Every one was a member of that Church. Every child was baptized as quickly as possible, thereby becoming a member of that Church. To be excommunicated by its authorities was worse than a sentence of death. It was a sentence of death for this life and for eternity. One Church in Western Europe.

The Church was rich and well organized. Men paid their obligations to the Church much as they pay their taxes today. Not to pay was to be excommunicated. Few braved that. To pay had become a part of their lives. There was murmuring to be sure; and sometimes there was open rebellion; yet, in the end, the all-powerful church prevailed. Besides the Church owned much property; her archbishops were wealthy lords. Half Europe belonged to the Church. Not only ecclesiastical dues but secular taxes poured into her treasury. The Wealth of the Church. Real Estate.

Every man had to give a tenth of all his increase to the Church. One out of every ten of Tithes.

the cattle born on his farm belonged to the Church. One out of every ten bushels of grain his land produced was claimed by the Church.

Fees.

When his children were baptized he had to pay a fee. When they were confirmed or married or ordained the priest had to be paid his fee. Whenever a man went to confession, and most people went frequently, some penance usually requiring a payment of money or goods was exacted.

Penances.

The Church's Power over Souls.

The Church's great power over the people lay in the doctrine that the power to save or damn men's souls lay in her. The people were taught that they were born corrupt and condemned to hell. Only the offices of the Church could save them from that fate. Therefore, as soon as possible, a new-born child was baptized. By baptism he was saved from inherited sin through the power residing in the Church. This power had been given to her by the Lord through St. Peter and his successors, the Popes. It was exercised on behalf of the child in the sacrament of Baptism.

The Sacraments.

Baptism.

Penance.

Although a child was saved by baptism from inherited sin, other sins were sure to follow in life. To be free from them he had to go frequently to the priest and enumerate them. No sin could be forgiven unless it was confessed to the priest and the penance he assigned, performed. Absolution could be given only by a

priest. The penance might be a pilgrimage to some shrine, burning a candle to one of the saints or to the Virgin, worshipping a relic or paying money in place of such or similar acts.

Between the ages of ten and fifteen Confirmation was administered by the bishop. It conferred a new spiritual grace and admitted to Communion. A fee was required for Confirmation. Confirmation. The Mass.

At marriage again the priest and his grace and and his fee. At death's door he also stood to anoint with oil and cleanse from sin for his fee. Marriage and Unction.

To be raised to the order of the priesthood, a man had not only to study and to be devout; but he had to pay for his ordination and for a place in which to serve. Congregations did not call their priests as pastors are called today. The bishop who controlled the congregations of a diocese as large as a county or larger, as a rule, assigned the priests to the congregations under his jurisdiction as he pleased. He appointed those who paid more to the more attractive "livings." Those who could not pay so much took what they could get. A priest performed many of the functions of a magistrate of today. He executed wills. He had oversight of his people's morals, health and education. His income came from the various sources already mentioned and from lands which belonged to the parish church which were tilled for him by The Priests.

peasants in the same way as they tilled the land for the nobles and other property owners of the community.

The Bishops.

The bishops lived and ranked as nobles of the land. They received the confirmation and ordination fees. But their chief source of revenue was from the land, usually of considerable extent, connected with the Cathedral. This was sometimes an entire city or a county. The bishop frequently owned castles and fought side by side with the nobles.

The bishop had exclusive jurisdiction over Church affairs in his diocese. He had a court to administer justice to those officially connected with the Church. The laws in the bishop's court were different from the law of the land. They were called the Church laws or Canon Law. The Canon Law was usually more lenient than the law of the land. No Church officer could be tried by a court of the land. He could be tried only by his bishop's court. This frequently caused disputes between the knights and the bishops.

The Bishop's Court and The Canon Law.

Election of the Bishop.

Nominally the bishop was elected by the chapter or convocation of the clergy of his diocese. But, since he often had so much civil power, the counts and dukes claimed and exercised the right to nominate the bishops within their territories. The bishop was installed by the Pope or by an archbishop appointed by him. These and other

elements led to many quarrels between the Church authorities and the civil magistrates, sometimes to the advantage of one and sometimes to that of the other. All of these disputes increased the opportunities for graft, or "simony" as it is called, in the Church. (Simony gets its name from Simon Magus who sought to buy the gift of the Holy Spirit. Acts 8.)

Simony.

At the head of the system, the source of its power and its sovereign ruler, sat the Pope. Originally he was merely Bishop of Rome. But partly through the predominance of the Roman Empire, partly through the prevalence of the idea of universal Rome when the Empire fell, partly because of political difficulties of which the Roman bishops were not slow to take advantage, partly because of great missionary operations, the Bishops of Rome succeeded in building up and consolidating their authority, supporting it by the decisions of Church councils and the power of Emperors and kings. Nothing was orthodox or lawful that did not bear the approval of the Pope or his officials. He was the absolute head of Christendom, the Vicar of Christ, ruling the Church in His stead and giving to those who compiled with its regulations, the salvation Christ came to give to all men. The Popes claimed the right to dissolve all human relationships, even to free subjects from their rulers. Final authority for all things resided in the Pope.

The Pope.

Rise of the Pope's Power.

The Vicar of Christ.

In the Church organizations he invested the chief officials with their powers. He judged disputed elections. He filled vacancies, removed disqualifications, and transferred men from one office to another.

The Pope's Income.

The Pope's income was very great. None of the high offices could be obtained without the payment of large fees. He also received half of the first year's income from all the offices which he gave.

The Pope's Court.

He had the highest court in the Church, to which appeals came from the bishop's court. It was composed of various high officials and the Cardinals. They lived in brilliance and luxury as great as that of any king in the world. In the century before the Reformation the Pope's Court was the most immoral in the world.

Corruption.

Theoretically this vast and wonderful organization was to bring salvation to the lost souls of men. That was what it professed to do. Actually the majority of its officials from the parish priest to the Pope himself were moved by selfishness, covetousness and the love of luxury.

Vice.

Simony was not the only sin. By Canon Law a priest was not allowable to marry; he had to be holier than other men. Yet many priests had wives or concubines contrary to law, whom they supported in secret. Their children were well known. They were euphemistically called "nieces" or "nephews." From Pope to priest corruption and vice prevailed.

Yet despite all these things the people looked to the Holy Church to save them. They paid their money and eased their consciences. They made long pilgrimages to the places where the relics of the saints were kept. These relics included, for example, pieces of Christ's cross, strands of saints' hair, bones of saints or their tears and other like things. The people believed that, as their priest had said and the Pope declared, these holy acts would free them from sin.

The Church's hold on the People.

Relics and Pilgrimages.

Men and women lived under a great burden of fear in Germany and northern Europe, difficult for us to appreciate. They thought that devils and goblins inhabited the woods and caves. Storms and drought were caused by spiritual foes, plagues and epidemics came from an aggrieved God. Uncertain rumors of Turkish invasion kept them constantly alarmed. They had no certain means of communication. They often learned of important events long after they had taken place. They were the more terrified on that account. Through all was the great fear of death. No sin could be forgiven unless confessed to the priest. Those for which complete satisfaction had not been made, had to be burned out in purgatory, perhaps for centuries, before heaven could be reached. They thought of Christ as a dreadful Judge, not as a Saviour. They expected Him to pronounce the final doom from which the Church alone could save them.

The Great Fear.

Purgatory.

Judgment.

Salvation Through the Church.

So the people eagerly sought the Church; prayed to the saints to intercede with Christ; kissed the relics of their bones; made pilgrimages; performed penances and left endowments that the priest might perform many times the unbloody sacrifice of the Mass for them, that they might be released as quickly as possible from purgatory. They bought pardons and indulgences to accomplish the same results for themselves or their friends.

Preaching.

There was little regular preaching in the churches by the parish priests. The bulk of the preaching was done by the Brotherhoods organized for that purpose, by the Dominican Friars and others. These preachers as a rule were itinerant like the paid evangelists of today. Their purpose in preaching was to incite to a devout life. Most of the sermons were concerned with the lives of the saints and the wonderful blessings they had received and were ready to bestow on the faithful.

Processions.

On important festivals, processions passed through the streets, bearing the Host or consecrated wafer for the people to worship. Pompousness and show in worship paralleled covetousness and vice in living.

The Monks.

Those who truly tried to live a Christian life, usually entered a monastery where they lived under strict rules. Probably on the whole the monks and friars were somewhat superior to the

general run of priests and bishops; certainly they were more highly respected by the people. A monk was not necessarily a priest, though many became priests. He differed from the ordinary layman in having taken three vows; of poverty—to own no property, of chastity—never to marry, of obedience to the rules and rulers of the order. Each order of monks was controlled by its own vicars and generals directly from the Pope, independent of local bishops and other authorities. A monk differed from a priest, as every other layman did, by not having Ordination which conveyed the power to celebrate the Mass, to give absolution and to marry people.

Their Vows.

Rulers.

When a man became a monk he spent a year in the monastery doing menial work, while being instructed in the rules and customs of the order, before taking the vows. Should he still desire to enter at the end of that year, he took the vows and became a monk for life. The monks did many useful things. They copied books. They taught in the universities and schools. They managed their large properties very efficiently. Besides they observed regular hours of prayer. There were usually seven such during the day and three during the night. Their rules were strict. Still, the orders constantly deteriorated and required internal reform. Though the monks were individually vowed to poverty, the monasteries as corporations were frequently very rich.

Novitiate.

What the Monks did; how they prayed.

Deterioration and Reform.

Wealth.

Many bequeathed to them their estates. Their holdings were no small part of the Church's property.

The Friars.

The Friars were like monks except that they lived by begging. In number they far exceeded them.

Temporal Power of the Pope.

The Pope claimed supreme authority not only in Church affairs and over the souls of men, but in the affairs of the nations of the world. As Christ's vicar, he claimed that final appeal must always be made to him. He placed the crown of the Empire on the Emperors. The Church's claims and those of the State often clashed, particularly about the great ecclesiastical offices, so that there was constant interference by secular rulers in Church affairs and by Church authorities in civil matters.

Limited where national spirit was strong.

The interference of the Pope was especially resented in the nations where national spirit was strong. His rights and authority were very much limited especially in England and France.

But dissensions in the Church itself did more to weaken the Pope's power than the growing national spirit. As the nations grew strong, the Pope's word and the influence of his judgment was frequently sought, in order to settle disputes. When the Pope was to be elected, each king strove to have a man upon whose favor he could depend, elected to the office. Early in the Fourteenth Century, French influence secured

the election of Clement V. He was favorable to the King of France, who further induced him to remove his residence to Avignon in Provence. Here he was directly under French influence. This weakened his authority among the other nations. The Popes remained at Avignon for sixty years amid much luxury and considerable vice. In 1377 the Cardinals elected Urban VI. at Rome. The Cardinals who remained at Avignon, elected Clement VII. Each Pope excommunicated the other. The supreme office was thus held by two mutually hostile pontiffs. The only way to solve the difficulty was to call a general council of the whole Church. The council convened at Pisa in 1409. It deposed both Popes and elected another,—Alexander V. But the other Popes refused to be deposed, and so a third "infallible" was added.

The Great Schism.

The Council of Pisa.

To heal the schism and restore order in the Church, the Emperor, Sigismund, called another General Council which met at Constance 1414-1417. It had three purposes,—to heal the schism, to root out heresies and to undertake reformation in the Church. The first of these purposes was accomplished by declaring that a general council was greater than the Pope. After this, the Avignon Pope was deposed. The resignation of the Roman Pope was accepted. The Pisa Pope, fearing violence, fled. Then the Council elected Martin V. After the heresy trial

The Council of Constance.

had culminated in the burning of John Huss, the Council took up the matter of reform. It decided that a general council should be held every ten years. When other matters were suggested, Martin dissolved the council. He later condemned the decree which made a general council greater than the Pope. Nothing came of the provision for decennial councils.

Spiritual Life.

Beneath the organization and alongside the corruption and in spite of the superstition, a pure stream of spiritual life flowed on in the Church. In almost all families the children learned the simple elements of the faith and were taught to pray. For almost fifty years before the Reformation, parts of Scripture had been used and loved by the people in Germany. Though the times were coarse and the clergy full of sin, the worst things were condemned. Though there was, no doubt, a much greater looseness of morals than among us, not a few maintained a pure, upright and just life. While many visited the shrines and kissed the relics, not a few did so out of pure devotion, and not a few others had a pure faith which questioned the value of such things. While superstition was rampant, there were many who had humble faith in God.

Religious Brotherhoods.

Many pious Christians who could not find satisfaction in the services and sermons of the Church, banded themselves together in voluntary

brotherhoods for prayer, like modern prayer circles. They met in the homes of members or in the schools which they established. They sought not only to deepen their own lives but to be useful in the community by teaching the children, by preaching to the people and by doing works of charity. These brotherhoods also provided insurance for their members and burial rights as a modern lodge does.

Many were mystics. They found God in their hearts and rejoiced in love for Him more than in reasoning about Him. They set simple and high standards of morality, as a rule. They encouraged reading the Scriptures. They exemplified in their lives a pure and exalted faith. Mystics.

Besides there were a good many men of practical common sense who conformed outwardly to the Church, but who had no part in her spirit. They were ready to oppose her exactions at any time. They were plain men like Luther's father. They had learned the power of simple virtue. They mocked at the Church's superstition, relics and pilgrimages. They despised the priests and their pretensions; and they cared nothing for the monks. They sought to remedy the immorality of the clergy and people by civic regulations. They sought to further prosperity and to minimize the opportunities for temptation by reducing as far as possible the extraordinary number of holy days which had come to be ob- Plain Men.

served in the Church. Through these holy days many had been kept idle half the week and the way had been opened to laziness and vice. While these laymen continued in the Church, their hopes were for reform. They kept up correspondence with others of similar mind in the different towns and gave each other mutual support. They prepared the way for the Reformation. They played a large part in assisting its rapid development.

Early Reformers.

It was a great mistake to think of Luther as the pioneer or the first to lift his voice in the Church against her sins. Many had seen the corruption and had spoken plainly against it. Three men who sought to reform the Church before Luther are especially prominent. Their teachings are in part similar to his. They did much to prepare the way for him.

John Wiclif.

The first of these was John Wiclif (died 1384), an Englishman and a graduate of Oxford University. He opposed the interference of the Pope in English politics and especially the payment of Church taxes which involved sending English money to Rome. He was opposed by the Church authorities in England who held their offices from the Pope. Upon their complaint five bulls were issued against him and his teachings. But he had the support of the kings of England. He had also the support of the people. The thunderings of the Vatican, therefore,

came to naught. During the great schism Wiclif was opposed to all the Popes. His most enduring work was the translation of the Bible into English. The first complete edition was published in 1382. Together with John Purvey, he at once began a thorough revision which was completed by Purvey after Wiclif's death and issued in 1388. It forms an epoch in both the literary and religious life of England.

Bible Translation.

Wiclif's university turned against him because of his attacks on the Church, especially his attack on transubstantiation, i. e., that the bread and wine in the Mass are changed into Christ's Body and Blood when the priest consecrates the bread and wine. His teachings are sometimes vague but he is thoroughly opposed to Roman doctrine. A Church Council condemned his teachings and his followers, but he was so strong in Parliament that they did not dare to touch him. The last years of his life were used in quiet pastoral work in the parish of Lutterworth where he was afterwards buried. The Council of Constance later condemned him. His bones were dug up and burned. His ashes were scattered on the River Swift.

His Fate.

He taught that the Bible alone is the supreme authority, that the Church is the company of the Elect, not necessarily identical with the ecclesiastical organization. His attitude on the Mass has already been mentioned. He took pains to

His Teachings.

spread his teaching through itinerant teachers who were popularly called "Lollards." He was a man of intellect rather than of feeling, always conscious of his integrity and fearless in the expression of his views.

Wiclif's doctrines spread all over Europe. They bore fruit especially at the University of Prague in Bohemia which was in close touch with Oxford. Wiclif's doctrines influenced John Huss, a professor and teacher there. Huss's endeavors to reform the Church met with the favor of the archbishop at first, but he later opposed them. The Pope forbade Huss to preach and later condemned all use of Wiclif's writings. Huss was supported by the faculty of his university. The archbishop excommunicated him and laid the city under an interdict, i. e. forbade all religious services. Huss disregarded this. He held services and preached anyway to great audiences which frequently burst into applause. He was opposed to indulgences, especially when the Pope used them to get money to carry on a war against Naples. He claimed the Pope as Christ's vicar, should never wage war. He was opposed, also, to the Pope's pretensions to infallibility. In 1412 he was compelled to leave Prague. He continued to preach and teach not far away.

John Huss.

Influence of Wiclif.

Teachings of Huss.

When he was summoned to the Council of Constance and given a safe-conduct, he gladly at-

tended. After waiting many weeks until the matter of the Schism, which occupied the attention of the Council first, was disposed of, he was imprisoned and directed to recant. He refused. After several hearings before the ecclesiastical court he was condemned as a heretic. The condemnation was read in the Cathedral. A tall paper hat with "heretic" on it, was placed on his head and he was led out to be burned. His teachings were similar to those of Wiclif. He favored giving both bread and wine to the communicant in the Communion which was not done in the Roman Church. His followers banded together and fought for their freedom of conscience. They were recognized by the Council of Basel, 1430. This was the first time in history that a council of the Church treated with heretics on an equality. It granted them freedom to preach, the use of both elements in the Sacrament and a clergy uncorrupted by secular rights. They were opposed by the Pope in 1462. But they were upheld and finally in 1512 legally established by the Parliament of Bohemia. This is the first legal establishment of dissenters from the Roman Church in western Europe.

Huss Condemned and Burned.

Hussites Legalized.

Another of these reformers was Jerome Savonarola (1452-1498). He was the son of well-to-do parents who intended him to become a doctor. The frightful sins of his time, however, led him to seek refuge in a Dominican

Jerome Savonarola.

Monastery at Bologna, to save his soul. He desired only the menial work but his superiors, appreciating his ability, had him study theology. He read the Bible and the works of Thomas Aquinas, Augustine and other Church fathers.

His Powerful Preaching.

He became a preacher of great power and was sent on that account, to the monastery of San Marco at Florence. He attacked the corrupt life of the city unsparingly and urged moral reform of Church and State.

Taking advantage of an invasion of Italy by the King of France, Savonarola stirred up a revolt against the rulers of the city and reorganized it as a theocracy.

His Civic Reforms.

Wonderful moral zeal and spiritual exaltation carried the people of the city away. The Pope, the wicked Alexander VI., became alarmed. He first offered Savonarola a bishopric and a cardinal's hat, but in vain. Then he forbade him to preach and finally excommunicated him. The expedition of the King of France was unsuccessful; plague and famine broke out in Florence. The jealousy of the other monks in Florence at length caused a reaction against him. He appealed to an ordeal by fire, i. e., he was willing to pass through a flame to show that it would not burn him to prove that his teachings were true. This challenge was accepted by his enemies. A thunderstorm prevented it taking place at the time appointed. The fickle people, disappointed at not

seeing the sight, turned from him. In a Church Court he was quickly condemned as a heretic and burned in the public square in 1498.

He is Condemned and Burned.

His movement was a moral one and was confined almost exclusively to the city of Florence. It depended entirely upon the devotion of the people to him, aroused by his wonderful preaching. These movements all came to naught. The time was not yet ripe.

QUESTIONS.

1. Name six things in which the Church before the Reformation differed from the Church of today.
2. How was the Church financed?
3. How could the Church hold such power over the people?
4. What provisions did the Church make for saving souls?
5. What were the rights and duties of a priest? of a bishop?
6. What were the rights and duties of an archbishop?
7. How did the bishop of Rome come to be the supreme head of the Church?
8. What power did he exercise?
9. Were Church officials sincerely given to their work?
10. Why did the people trust them?
11. What superstitions prevailed?
12. What were relics?
13. What were pilgrimages?
14. How did the Church services differ from ours?
15. How did the monks differ from other people?
16. What did the monks do and how were they ruled?
17. In what else did the Pope claim authority?
18. How did these claims clash with national spirit?

19. What dissensions in the Church caused the people to lose respect for the Pope?
20. How was the Great Schism healed?
21. What else did the Council of Constance do?
22. Did the corruption in the organization of the Church prevent all spiritual life among the people?
23. Describe the Brotherhoods.
24. How did men of plain common sense take religion?
25. What three reformers attempted to correct the abuses in the Church before Luther?
26. Tell of Huss; of Wicliff; of Savonarola.
27. Make a list of the things in the Roman Church which you think were right.
28. Make a similar list of the things you think were wrong.
29. Make similar lists of the things you think right and wrong in your own Church today.

## CHAPTER IV.

### Martin Luther's Life to 1517.

The great personality of Martin Luther was the rock about which the stream of history swirled and by which it was divided in the Sixteenth Century. From his character and experiences much of modern history has grown.

Luther of Peasant Stock.

Martin Luther sprang from peasant stock. His father's family lived at Moehra, a little village fifteen miles through the beautiful Thuringian forest from Eisenach, the largest town of the region. His father, John Luther, was not the youngest son and, therefore, in accordance with the ancient peasant custom, had to find his living elsewhere than on the ancestral farmland. So, in 1483, nine years before Columbus discovered America, he went to seek his fortune in the mines of Mansfeld, sixty miles away. His bride, Margaret Ziegler, accompanied him. When they reached Eisleben on their journey, they stopped. Martin Luther was born there on the tenth of November, 1483. He was baptized according to custom on the next day by the parish priest in Eisleben. It was St. Martin's Day in the Church calendar and so the boy received the name of Martin. Later the Luthers went on to

Born at Eisleben, Nov. 10, 1483.

Mansfeld and John Luther secured employment in the mines there.

His Father.

John Luther "was a sturdy, frugal, hard-working man, that admirable type of man who, having small natural gifts and no advantages, by sheer industry and will power makes his way in the world." Starting as a stranger and a common miner, he gradually won a small competence and a place of honor among his fellow-citizens, who eventually elected him to the highest office in the town.

His Mother.

Luther's mother was earnest and devout, strictly religious and very superstitious. Both father and mother were very strict. Luther himself tells us, "My father once whipped me so severely that I fled from him and it was hard for him to win me back." "My mother once beat me until the blood flowed for having stolen a miserable nut."

Severe Discipline.

The Lot of a Miner's Son.

While he remained at home he endured all the hard lot of a poor miner's son, for his father did not acquire a comfortable living until after Luther had left home. His memories of his home are not of the brightest. He reverenced and feared his parents more than he loved them. He had at least one brother and several sisters.

Education in Mansfeld.

His earliest education was at the village school. The teacher was much harder on the boy than his parents were. He says, "Many a clumsy schoolmaster by blustering, storming, striking

and beating; and by treating children precisely as though he were a hangman, completely ruins children of good disposition and excellent ability."* Flogging took the place of real teaching; and the boy's road was hard. Latin was the principal subject taught there. It was necessary to read and speak Latin in order to acquire any further education at all.

At home, no doubt, Luther was taught a few prayers. He learned to think of God after the cruel picture of a father presented by his earthly father. He thought of Jesus as a strict and severe Judge with whom the saints could be induced to intercede on his behalf. He believed the Church dispensed salvation through her priests. He also drank in the superstitions of his parents and surroundings. His vivid belief in devils and witches never left him. To him they were the cause of natural phenomena, such as storms, droughts, epidemics, the mysterious marsh lights, and the vague rustlings in the trees. He thought they assumed various forms, — men, monks, women, not to speak of ghosts, cats and parrots and "the strange caterpillar whose posterior is suspiciously decked out with a little horn."

Religious Training.

Superstition.

When Luther was thirteen years old he was sent to one of the schools of the Brethren at Magdeburg, forty miles from home. It was one of those schools previously mentioned, which

To School at Madgeburg.

*Translation in Jacobs' Martin Luther.

did so much and prepared so many for a true religious life. He helped to pay his way by begging. It was a common custom for poor students to go through the streets singing and playing and asking alms at the doors. This was no more disreputable at that time than accepting a scholarship is today.

To School at Eisenach.

The next year he was sent to Eisenach to the school of St. George. His mother had a relative living there named Conrad Huetter, who, his parents thought, would be of moral and material assistance to him. He found a home not with his kinsman, but with the Cotta family. Frau Cotta was attracted by his fine singing and took him in. Here he found for the first time a real home. The Cottas were people of means and refinement. The influence they exerted had a marked effect for good on the growing young man. His teacher there, John Trebonius, also won his heart with a gentleness and kindness in striking contrast to the teachers to whom he had been accustomed. A Franciscan monastery was located on the outskirts of the town and he became acquainted with many of the monks. This may have turned his thoughts toward the monastery.

The Cotta Family.

Four years later, 1501, he went to the great University of Erfurt. His father was getting along better and could now pay his son's way. He was anxious for him to have every ad-

THE COTTA HOME.

vantage. The University of Erfurt was one of the largest in Germany. It was founded in 1392, more than a hundred years before Luther went there. It was also one of the most progressive universities of the times. Its faculty taught the advanced views and used the newer methods of humanism. Luther passed the usual groups of three and four studies with great credit. He received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1502 and the degree of Master of Arts in 1505. Luther was more attracted to the older and more formal studies than he was to the new, humanistic branches. His education was as broad and as good as was possible at that time.

At the University of Erfurt.

Conferring degrees was marked by a great celebration. The students paraded through the town. The degrees were solemnly conferred by the university authorities dressed in their robes. Afterward there was a feast and a holiday.

Graduation.

Luther's father wished him to study law. In obedience to his wishes, though much against his own inclination, he matriculated as a law student at the same university, immediately after receiving his degree of Master of Arts.

A Law Student.

Luther's early training had left him with a predominantly sober view of life. While he was a fine fellow socially and often entertained his fellow-students with songs and music and they delighted in his company, his thoughts tended to be serious. There is no record that he indulged

Luther's Seriousness.

in the license which was common in student life then as now. Luther had a very sensitive conscience and a great longing for God. His greatest desire was to find peace with God. He was much distressed about his spiritual life and was never satisfied with it. The violent death of a friend added to his somberness and thoughtfulness. In those times the place where burdened souls found refuge was the monastery. No doubt his thoughts often turned that way. His acquaintance with the Franciscans at Eisenach and the many monks he knew at Erfurt had a similar effect. Erfurt had twenty monasteries and forty-six churches and chapels. It was a very religious place. The plague broke out in the city during the summer of 1505 and some of the students died from it. Many others sought safety in flight. Luther attended the law school for a month but be became thoroughly discouraged. He went home, perhaps to secure his father's permission to drop law. But if so, he failed, for in a couple of weeks he started back to the University. On his way he was caught in a terrific thunder-storm and, being greatly terrified, he prayed to St. Anna and vowed that if she would save him, he would become a monk.

He vows to enter a Monastery.

He enters the Augustinian Monastery at Erfurt.

Two weeks later he gathered his friends in his rooms. After spending the evening in the old time jollity and fun, he solemnly announced that that was the last. The next day he went to

the Augustinian monastery and applied for admission. When the door closed behind him, it shut him off forever from the old life. Luther's reputation as a student was known very favorably all over the city and in the monasteries. His entrance was very gratifying to the superiors of the monastery he chose. But the monks were jealous of him. However, Luther did the humble tasks assigned to him without pride or display, for he sought the peace of his soul and not the praise of men. His father was bitterly disappointed and nearly cast him off. In September, 1506, Luther took the vows of the order and became a regular monk. The monastery which he entered was one of the best of its kind. Within the order of the Augustinians a strict rule was in force in some of the monasteries. Luther entered one of these. Undoubtedly sincere striving for the Christian life, as it was then understood, characterized the monasteries of the Augustine Hermits.

His severe Self-Discipline.

One of the rules of the order was the constant study of the Bible. In the monastery Luther also carried his study of philosophy further. But most of all he sought by the strictest compliance with the rules of the order to develope such a spiritual life in himself as might please God and by which he might find peace with Him. He even went beyond the rules in the severity of his discipline. He soon had the reputation of

being a most saintly monk as well as a most brilliant student. Yet peace would not come. He could not satisfy himself that his heart was right.

A Priest.

In February, 1507, he was ordained a priest. In May of the same year, he celebrated his first Mass. His father and an old friend, John Braun, priest at Eisenach, with others of his acquaintance, were invited and attended. That he should speak directly to God and by his act bring Christ's holy Body and Blood upon the altar and hold Him in his hands, was to Luther a most solemn and awful thing. He celebrated the mass with great hesitancy and fear. His father was not yet reconciled to his son's place in the Church. At the dinner given in honor of the young priest afterward, he publicly said, when Luther asked him if he was not now satisfied with what he had done, "Have you never heard the commandment, Honor thy father and thy mother?"

Call to Wittenberg.

Continuing his studies, Luther began theology. In 1508 he was called to the University of Wittenberg to teach Aristotle's Ethics. Wittenberg was a most uninteresting village of a few hundred thatched houses. It had only recently become important. That it had a university was due to the fact that Saxony had been divided between two heirs of the old line of rulers. The Elector had received the portion of which Wit-

tenberg was the principal place. Every ruler sought to have a university on his own territory. Frederick the Wise was not behind other princes in this respect, especially since he had the money at hand. The Pope some time before had issued an indulgence to provide money for a war against the Turks. The plans for the war were abandoned. Instead of forwarding the money collected to Rome, Frederick decided it was better to found a university for his own people. So he started the University of Wittenberg. It was the first university not to receive a charter from the Pope. Its charter was given by the Emperor. Frederick had also built a castle and two fine churches in the town. In locating the university there he relied upon the services of the monks of an Augustinian monastery at Wittenberg. Luther was transferred from the monastery at Erfurt to that in Wittenberg so that he might teach in the university there. After teaching Aristotle a while, he taught Holy Scripture. He returned to Erfurt in 1509 where he continued to lecture until 1511 when he came back to Wittenberg to spend the rest of his life there.

The University of Wittenberg.

While still at Erfurt he was sent to Rome on business of the Order in the fall of 1511. There had been some difficulty about the control of certain monasteries in Germany and a decision from the authorities at Rome was required. Luther went as the companion of the real delegate in the

Journey to Rome.

business, John von Mecheln. It was a rule of the Order that the brothers must always travel in pairs. The journey was made entirely on foot. The monks walked in single file from monastery to monastery down through Germany, across the Alps and into Italy. Luther felt that it was a great opportunity, not to see Rome, but to find peace with God in the best way the Church taught. Confession and worship at the shrines in Rome was believed to be most effective in securing God's favor. So, while John von Mecheln attended to the business, Luther visited many of the shrines and churches and adored the relics kept in the sacred city. He was shocked by much that he saw and heard, especially at the ignorance and frivolity of the people, the irreverence of the priests, the indifference to holy things and the prevalent immorality. He did all the Church taught and took advantage of every offer of indulgence and yet he was not satisfied. "The just shall live by faith," was constantly ringing in his ears but it had not reached his heart. The return trip was made in about seven weeks. The Brothers reached Erfurt early in the spring of 1512. In the summer of the same year, Luther finally went to Wittenberg.

A Doctor of Theology.

He continued his studies and his lecturing at Wittenberg. In 1512 he received the degree of Doctor of Theology at Erfurt. The degree of

Doctor brought with it new duties and privileges. It is well to remember that Luther stood within his rights as a Doctor of Theology in all his conflicts with the Pope.

His Lectures on the Bible.

From this time until the year of his death he lectured daily on the Bible. He prepared his lectures very carefully from the best available sources. He used the most recent writers and commentators. He eagerly acquired a copy of Erasmus' revised and corrected Greek Testament when it appeared in 1516. His lectures were fresh and stimulating because he did not follow the regular, beaten paths of the old theology but sought to explain the Bible itself and to illustrate its truths by practical and familiar facts of recent or contemporary history Naturally this soon led to criticism of current life and institutions. His lectures on Psalms and Romans were especially edifying. His lecture-rooms were always crowded with students. After a little, he began to advocate reforms in the university curriculum. As his study continued, he became convinced that the philosophy of Aristotle and the scholasticism in which he had been trained, were wrong, and that the slavish following of the old masters was a positive hinderance to true thought. He rebelled against the scholastic system before he spoke against the Church.

A Preacher.

Preaching was not so frequent then as it is now and Luther had never preached. After much persuasion, he finally did so in a barn-like building near the monastery. It held less than a hundred. He was a very popular preacher and soon preached regularly in the town church. His sermons were practical and moral; criticizing the failures of the people to whom he ministered and pointing the way to better things. They were very different from the sermons usually heard then which were occupied in relating old fables and stories of the saints and their wonderful miracles.

District Vicar.

In 1515 he was appointed District Vicar in charge of twelve monasteries. His time was very fully occupied in preaching, teaching, and managing the affairs of the monasteries. As he says in a letter to John Lang at Erfurt, October 26, 1516:

A Busy Man.

"I need a couple of amanuenses or secretaries, as I do almost nothing the live-long day but write letters. I do not know whether on that account I am always repeating myself, but you can judge. I am convent preacher, the reader at meals, am asked to deliver a sermon daily in the parish church, am district vicar (that is eleven times prior), business manager of our fish farm at Litzkau, attorney in our cases versus the Herzbergers now pending at Torgau, lecturer on St. Paul, assistant lecturer on the Psalter, besides having my correspondence, which, as I said, occupies most of my time. I seldom have leisure to discharge the

AUGUSTINIAN MONASTERY AT WITTENBERG.

canonical services, to say nothing of attending to my own temptations with the world, the flesh and the devil. You see how idle I am!"*

His Struggles for Faith and Peace.

And yet the chief thing that Luther was doing, was working out from his fear into perfect faith and peace. All his past contributed to this. His early training, his life at the university and in the monastery at Erfurt, the journey to Rome, the study of Arisotle and the Bible, his preaching, his supervision of the monasteries, the appeals for help and light from others, the influence of old friends and true, all these were factors which led him at last into the clear Christian faith from which the Reformation in Germany sprang, carrying with it the germ of much that is best in the life of Europe and America today.

Medieval Teachings.

Luther had been brought up in great fear of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ. His studies in philosophy had been based on the idea that God's will is purely and absolutely supreme and that, in their own sphere, our wills are too. He was taught that God has willed all things, even the death of the sinner and that on our part by resolving to do so and by proper exercises, we may come to love God supremely. How to change the sinful desires of his heart into perfect love of a dreadful God was the problem by which his sincere and sensitive conscience was

*Smith, Martin Luther, p. 32.

plagued. In order to bring his sinful nature under the control of his desire to do right, he performed all the exactions of the monastic life and more. But he was not content with outward conformity; he wanted his heart to be right too. Every desire of the flesh appeared to him as clear evidence that he had not yet brought himself into the state which was pleasing to God. His confessors were perplexed about him and unable to give him much help. One of them reminded him of the duty of believing in the article of the creed which says, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins." This helped him a little, but his Vicar, John Staupitz, helped him most by his warm-hearted sympathy and interest. His studies of the New Testament in Greek brought fresh light. St. Augustine's writings and mystics, like John Tauler, also helped him. They enabled him to view his difficulties from a different angle from that which scholasticism had taught.

Luther's Despairing Earnestness.

Luther came into peace when he realized what Paul meant when he wrote, "The just shall live by faith." Man receives salvation not by works, such as penances, pilgrimages, fasts, alms, self-denials or moral perfection, but by free, whole-hearted reliance on God and the promises of forgiveness and life in His Word. Luther did not reach assurance through wonderful visions or by moral conversion from drunkenness or vice but by pure, hard thought and study of God's Word.

"The just shall live by faith."

It is interesting to note that the Church which bears Luther's name has not forgotten that and seeks neither to arouse ecstasy or to "convert," but relies entirely upon the power of pure and sober Truth, seriously considered, to lead to light and peace and holiness. Luther was, as yet, not conscious of any break with the past or of any difference from the Church. When he speaks out in the Ninety-five Theses on indulgences he believes that he is attacking the errors of a few mistaken men. He does not realize that his teaching is contrary to the teaching of the Church of his time.

## QUESTIONS.

1. Who were Luther's father and mother?
2. In what circumstances of life was he born?
3. Had he a pleasant childhood?
4. What early religious training did he receive?
5. Where did he go to school?
6. What university did he attend?
7. Describe his disposition.
8. What led him to enter a monastery?
9. Why was he transferred to Wittenberg?
10. What sort of place was Wittenberg?
11. Why did Luther go to Rome?
12. What did he do there?
13. What degrees did Luther have?
14. What were his daily occupations?
15. How did he feel toward the course of studies at the university?
16. What was he seeking most of all? Are you?

17. Why did he fail to find it? Are you failing to find it?
18. What did he at last learn?
19. Compare his experience with "conversion."
20. How has the Lutheran Church shown confidence in Luther's experience? Is she justified in so doing?
21. What do *you* mean by faith?
22. Do you know that you are saved?
23. If so, how did that assurance come to you?
24. How can you help others to the same sure faith?
25. Are you helping any one to such faith?

## CHAPTER V.

### From the Theses to the Diet of Worms.

The purchase and sale of indulgences was a characteristic feature of the Church in Luther's day. Indulgences were remissions of the penalties that men were required to pay before they could be entirely free from sin. It was believed that the man who had confessed to a priest and received his absolution, though not in danger of eternal punishment, had still a penalty to pay, either in this life or in Purgatory. To escape Purgatory he must pay this penalty by doing "good works." The Church defined these good works as fasting, almsgiving, pilgrimages and the like. If he did not perform these he might still escape Purgatory by securing an indulgence which freed him from the obligation to perform them.

Indulgences, Good Works and Escape from Purgatory.

Indulgences were originally granted for doing something especially meritorious,—making a pilgrimage to a particularly holy shrine, contributing to the building of a church, or some similar work. They were universally granted to all who took part in the Crusades, whether they actually went or paid for some one else to go. For a long time before the Reformation they had been used

as a means of raising money. The sale of indulgences, or "pardons," had become a regular business. The practice grew up before the theory was settled. Afterwards the theologians accounted for this power of the Pope to grant indulgences by referring it to the theory of the Treasury of Merit of the Saints. That was, that, to Christ's merits were added the accumulated merits of the holy saints who had done good deeds than they needed to carry them safely into heaven. A Treasury of Merit was gathered from the surplus from which the Pope might draw for the benefit of some poor sinner who had not done enough good to escape Purgatory, but who had a few pennies or pounds to spend for his spiritual well-being. As time went on indulgences were extended still further and were made effective for the dead who had neglected to buy them for themselves or had not had the opportunity to do so. In that case, their friends or relatives might purchase indulgences for them, shortening or terminating their stay in Purgatory. Buying indulgences for the dead gradually became the most profitable part of the business. Everyone had many friends and relatives whom he would like to release from Purgatory, while he needed only one indulgence for himself.

The Treasury of Merit.

Indulgences for the Dead.

Not all the money paid for indulgences remained in the Church nor was it all devoted to the object specified in the indulgence papers.

The Bankers' Share.

The Popes and bishops had become obligated to the wealthy burghers and bankers by being forced to borrow money from them to meet their heavy expenses and to pay the bribes by which they secured appointment to their offices. A clerk of a rich merchant or banker usually accompanied the indulgence-seller, keeping account of the sales and taking a percentage for his master.

The Indulgence of 1515-1522.

This was especially the case in the indulgence of 1515-1522 which caused Luther to post the theses which led to the Reformation. The purpose for which the Jubilee or indulgence sale had been announced was that the money given for indulgences would be used for completing the great Church of St. Peter at Rome, the largest church in the world. But the Pope had a secret agreement with Albert, the Archbishop of Mayence and Madgeburg and administrator of the bishopric of Halberstadt, that part of the returns should be his so that he might pay the heavy debts he had incurred in bribing the Pope to allow him to hold these three offices at once, even though he was too young to hold any of them. The banking house of the Fuggers, a wealthy family of Augsburg, had managed the selling of indulgences in Germany since 1507 for half the proceeds. They managed this sale also on that basis. Very little of the money found its way into St. Peter's Church.

The Fuggers' Share.

The Elector of Saxony had forbidden the sale of the indulgences within his dominions. But the agents for it came to towns very near the border and many of his subjects went to these towns and bought them. The principal agent selling them was John Tetzel, a Dominican monk and a powerful preacher. He had a commission from the Pope. He appeared with a great red cross set up by his side. When he approached a town, the church-bells were rung and as he passed through the streets the people bowed before him. Mass was celebrated in the church. Then just outside, Tetzel preached urging and persuading the people to take this great opportunity to secure their own and their friends' salvation.

John Tetzel.

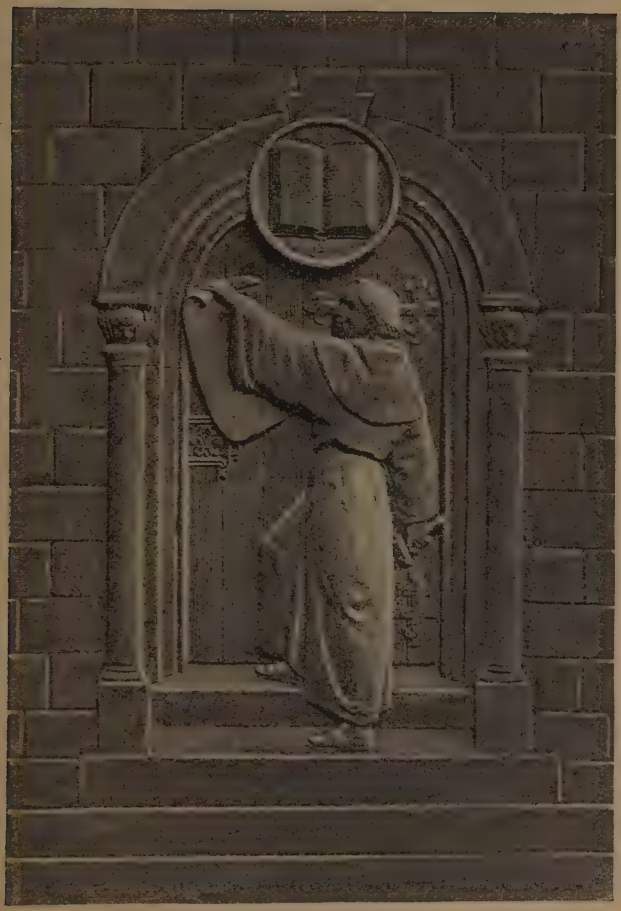
Tetzel's Preaching.

"Lo! heaven is open. When will you enter if not now? Oh, senseless men who do not appreciate such a shedding forth of grace! How hard-hearted! For twelve pennies you can deliver your father, and, nevertheless, you are so ungrateful as not to relieve him in his distress. At the last judgment, I am free; but you are responsible. I tell you that if you have but one garment, you should part with it rather than fail of such grace."*

Luther vs. Indulgences 1516.

Luther heard of these dangerous activities and preached against them as early as October 31, 1516. However, many continued to go to the nearest villages in which they were offered for sale and bought them.

*Jacobs' Martin Luther, p. 65.



LUTHER NAILING THE 95 THESES.

It had long been a custom to hold public debates on interesting questions. Those who desired to debate posted their subjects in a public place with a few short statements or theses in regard to their positions as a challenge or announcement. In our days such a notice would appear in the newspapers as an advertisement. In accordance with this custom, on October 31, 1517, Luther posted Ninety-five Theses concerning Indulgences on the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg, where such announcements were usually made. The theses were an invitation to debate the question of indulgences and salvation. They were written in Latin, the language of the educated at that time. Luther had no idea they would make a stir or that his act in posting them would be remembered as the beginning of one of the greatest movements in history and be celebrated four hundred years afterwards. His general position was, that repentance means turning from sin to God, that when a man does turn from sin and trusts in God, his sins are immediately and entirely forgiven without the absolution or indulgence of Pope or priest.*

The Ninety-five Theses, Oct. 31, 1517.

There were many people in Wittenberg, for it was the eve of All Saints' Day and special indulgences were granted on that day to all who came to venerate the Five Thousand and Five relics

Rapid Distribution of the Theses.

*See Appendix 8.

which the good Elector had gathered in his city at great expense. Those who could do so copied the Theses. Others held the chief points in memory. Some translated them into German. They hurried them to the printer. Thousands of copies were made. In a short time they were all over Germany and before long, all over the Christian world. They were hailed by many as an expression of that which they had long felt. In others they aroused a storm of indignation. Letters came to Luther from all sides and with all kinds of opinions and advice. He had not intended the Theses for world-wide distribution. He had not arranged them with precision. There were points in them on which he was not clear. He would have expressed many of them differently. The Archbishop sent a copy to Rome where they were lightly received and the whole matter was regarded as a quarrel between the Dominicans, the order to which Tetzel belonged, and the Augustinians, Luther's order.

Melanchthon.

Luther went on with his regular work at the university, whose faculty had been augmented by the coming of Melanchthon to teach Greek. Melanchthon became one of the greatest scholars of the day. He was a cautious and systematic thinker. In temperament he was quite the opposite of Luther who was bold and unsystematic. They assisted each other throughout their lives, Melanchthon gathering strength and force from

Luther; Luther, profiting by Melanchthon's scholarship and system.

Attempts to Silence Luther.

At last the Pope was aroused. First, Staupitz, the Vicar General of the Order, was instructed to silence Luther. Instead, he resigned. Then Luther was summoned to appear at Rome to answer charges of "suspected heresy," but Frederick the Elector would not let him go. The Pope sent a delegate, Cajetan, to secure Luther's recantation. Luther and Cajetan met at Augsburg in 1518. Luther had intended to define his position and he was willing to be instructed by Cajetan. But Cajetan refused to argue and demanded that Luther take back what he had said, threatening to bind him and bring him to Rome or, at least, to put him under the ban, (that is declare him an outlaw), if he did not recant. But Frederick would not surrender Luther without definite charges being made and sustained. Even Cajetan himself acknowledged that, at that time, there was no clear case of heresy against Luther, for the question of indulgences had never been authoritatively settled.

Staupitz.

Cajetan.

Miltitz.

Another Papal envoy, Miltitz, was sent to Germany to bring Luther to Rome. Instead, Miltitz, finding the German people and many of the nobles enthusiastic in the support of Luther, tried to effect a reconciliation. He agreed that if Luther would keep quiet about the whole affair, those who opposed him would keep quiet

also. Miltitz had no authority to make such an agreement and it was not kept.

The Election of the Emperor.

But other matters claimed the attention of the Pope, and Luther was allowed to continue his quiet but effective work for many months. The Emperor Maximilian died January 19, 1519. The great question of electing his successor occupied men's minds more than the indulgence controversy in Germany. There were two candidates for the honor,—Francis I. the King of France, and Charles, Archduke of Austria and King of Spain. Henry VIII. of England, was also a candidate for a while but he withdrew. The decision of the election really lay with Frederick, the Elector of Saxony. Money to buy votes, flowed freely. But Frederick kept clean from all bribes. He was even mentioned for the place himself. But he was too wise to permit his name to go before the electors. He probably would have been elected. The position of Emperor carried with it much responsibility and little real power. The Emperor depended for his power upon the forces and wealth of his own hereditary possessions and others who might be willing to ally themselves with him. Saxony was not strong enough to bear such a burden. Frederick cast his vote for Charles as the one most likely to favor the German people. His expectations in Charles were disappointed. Charles' mother's Spanish influence was stronger than his father's

Charles V. 1519.

Austrian influence. Charles always remained an alien to his German subjects. He was elected at Frankfort-on-the-Main in June, 1519. He was crowned at Aix la Chapelle October 20 of the same year. Since it appeared that the Pope favored the King of France, loyal Germans gathered more closely about Luther and many offered the assurance that they were ready to defend him with the sword.

The Leipsic Debate 1519.

While the election of the Emperor was being effected Luther was at Leipsic taking part in a great debate. One of the foremost theologians of those times, Dr. John von Eck, had attacked Carlstadt, one of the professors at Wittenberg, who followed Luther's views. Eck had also written indirectly against Luther himself. Eck challenged them to a debate. Arrangements were made to hold it at the University of Leipsic. Carlstadt and Eck debated for a week on the Freedom of the Will. On the 4th of July, 1519, Luther and Eck began their debate on the Divine Authority of the Pope. In the course of the argument Luther was compelled to admit that on his principles, John Huss, who had been condemned and burned by the Council of Constance in 1415, was right in many things. Luther contended that the Pope did not have absolute authority and that even a general council might err. He held that the Bible was the one authority above both Pope and council. This was a flat

Luther Denies the Authority of the Pope.

denial of the claims of the Pope. It revealed to both Luther and his opponents that he differed fundamentally from the Church. After that, there was little hope of reconciliation. Luther, himself, was somewhat surprised at the logical result to which his principles carried him; yet he stood his ground, unafraid of the truth.

University Problems.

When he returned to Wittenberg he quietly resumed his university duties, constantly planning and working for its improvement. Its fame was world-wide and many students crowded its halls. Luther was led to study the writings of Huss more carefully than he had done before, as a result of the Leipsic debate. He found many things in them of which he cordially approved.

Approval of Huss.

The Papal Bull 1520.

After the election of the Emperor, the Pope renewed the struggle with Luther. In June, 1520, he signed a "bull," or decree, condemning Luther's works and those who accepted his teachings, and calling upon him to recant within sixty days under pain of excommunication. The Pope entrusted the publication of the bull in Germany to Eck. The German people were almost everywhere opposed to it. Some of the universities refused to publish it.

An Open Letter to the German Nobility.

About the time of the preparation of the Bull and several weeks before it appeared in Germany, Luther published one of his great works, "An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation concerning The Reform of the Chris-

tian Estate." The opening of its argument will illustrate its tenor.

"THE THREE WALLS OF THE ROMANISTS."

"The Romanists, with great adroitness, have built three walls about them, behind which they have hitherto defended themselves in such wise that no one has been able to reform them; and this has been the cause of terrible corruption throughout all Christendom.

Pretensions of the Papists.

"First, when pressed by the temporal power, they have made decrees and said that the temporal power has no jurisdiction over them, but, on the other hand, that the spiritual is above the temporal power. Second, when the attempt is made to reprove them out of the Scriptures, they raise the objection that the interpretation of the Scriptures belongs to no one but the Pope. Third, if threatened with a general council, they answer with the fable that no one can call a council but the Pope."*

What the Difference between Clergy and Laity really is.

Luther argued against this by showing that everyone is equal before God and that we differ in life only in our vocations.

"Those who are now called 'spiritual'—priests, bishops, or popes—are neither different from other Christians nor superior to them, except that they are charged with the administration of the Word of God and the sacraments, which is their work and office, so it is with the temporal authorities,—they bear sword and rod with which to punish the evil and to protect the good. A cobbler, a smith, a farmer, each has the work and office of his trade, and yet they are all alike

*Works of Martin Luther, Philadelphia Edition, Vol. II, p. 65.

consecrated priests and bishops, and every one by means of his work or office must benefit and serve every other, that in this way many kinds of work may be done for the bodily and spiritual welfare of the community, even as all the members of the body serve one another."*

The Right to Interpret the the Scriptures.

Against the second wall, he says:—

"It may well happen that the Pope and his followers are wicked men, and no true Christians, not taught of God, not having true understanding. On the other hand, an ordinary man may have true understanding; why then should we not follow him? Has not the Pope erred many times? Who would help Christendom when the Pope errs, if we were not to believe another, who had the Scriptures on his side, more than the Pope? * * * They must confess that there are pious Christians among us, who have the true faith, Spirit, understanding, word and mind of Christ. Why, then, should we reject their word and understanding and follow the Pope, who has neither faith nor Spirit?"†

The Right to Call a Council.

Against the third wall, he says, that in the past others than the Pope have called general councils which are recognized as such. He concludes the first part of the Letter as follows:

"Thus I hope that the false, lying terror with which the Romans have this long time made our conscience timid and stupid, has been allayed. They, like all of us, are subject to the temporal sword; they have no power to interpret the Scriptures by mere authority without learning; they have no authority to prevent a council or, in sheer wantonness, to pledge it, bind it, or take

*Ibid., p. 69.

†Ibid., pp. 74, 75.

ROOM IN LUTHER'S HOUSE.

away its liberty; but if they do this, they are in truth the communion of anti-Christ and of the devil, and have nothing at all of Christ except the name."*

Matters to be discussed in a Council.

The second part of the Letter treats of matters to be brought before such a council for reform especially the worldly pomp and the vainglorious claims of the Pope, his cardinals and other officials and the graft and corruption which prevailed in the obtaining and holding of these offices. The Letter concludes with a third section dealing with matters which the nobility themselves may reform in their territories, e. g. Church rights and taxes, jurisdiction of Bishop's Courts, relations of the Pope and the Emperor, abolition of pilgrimages, of mortuary Masses, of Saints' Days, of special privileges, of mendicancy, reform of the Monasteries and the Universities, and of social and economic abuses.

Matters to be reformed by the Nobility.

Another Little Song: The Babylonian Captivity.

In October, just before the bull against him was published in Germany, Luther issued another "little song," as he called it,—"A Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church." It treats of the sacraments and their abuse in the Church of Rome. His general positions may be gathered from these two excerpts, the one occurring near the beginning and the other, near the end of the treatise.

Concerning the Sacraments.

"At the outset I must deny that there are seven sacraments, and hold for the present to but three—bap-

*Ibid., p. 79.

tism, penance and the bread. * * * To be sure, if I desired to use the term in its Scriptural sense, I should allow but a single sacrament, with three sacramental signs."*

Then he discusses each of the seven sacraments of the Church and shows by the Scriptures and the Church Fathers the errors that have been taught in the Church to the burdening of consciences. Near the end he says:—

Two Sacraments: Baptism, The Bread.

"It has seemed best to restrict the name of sacrament to such promises [of the Scriptures] as have signs attached to them. The remainder, not being bound to signs, are bare promises. Hence there are, strictly speaking, but two sacraments in the Church of God—baptism and bread; for only in these two do we find both the divinely instituted sign and the promise of forgiveness of sins. * * * Baptism, however, which we have applied to the whole life, will truly be a sufficient substitute for all the sacraments we might need as long as we live. And the bread is truly the sacrament of the dying; for in it we commemorate the passing of Christ out of this world, that we may imitate Him. Thus we may apportion these two sacraments as follows, baptism belongs to the beginning and the entire course of life, the bread belongs to the end and to death. And the Christian should use them both as long as he is in this poor body, until, fully baptized and strengthened, he passes out of this world and is born unto the new life of eternity, to eat with Christ in the Kingdom of His Father, as He promised at the Last Supper,—'Amen I say to you, I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until it is fulfilled

*Ibid., p. 177.

in the kingdom of God.' Thus He seems clearly to have instituted the sacrament of the bread with a view to our entrance into the life to come. Then, when the meaning of both sacraments is fulfilled, baptism and bread will cease."*

The Liberty of a Christian Man.

Shortly after that, Miltitz, still persisting in his efforts, persuaded Luther to write to the Pope and express his submission. Luther complied by sending to the Pope a little pamphlet on The Liberty of a Christian Man, with a letter expressing no personal antagonism to the Pope, but attacking without stint the corruption of the Pope's Court. Every Christian should own and diligently study this admirable little tract which reveals with wonderful clearness what that liberty is with which Christ has made us free, and what it is to "owe no man anything but to love one another." Its thesis is:—

"A Christian man is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none.

"A Christian man is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all."†

This was published in November. Luther's letter to the Pope did no good. He had gone so far that it was impossible for the Pope with any show of dignity to be reconciled to him or for Luther himself to retract, even had he desired to do so.

*Ibid., pp. 291, 292.
†Ibid., p. 312.

The bull against Luther was slowly circulated in Germany. Luther at last decided on a dramatic stand, namely, to burn the Pope's bull as the Pope had ordered Luther's works burned. Accordingly, early on the morning of December 10, a notice appeared on the university bulletin board,—

Luther Burns the Papal Bull.

"Let whosoever adheres to the truth of the Gospel be present at nine o'clock at the church of the Holy Cross outside the walls, where the impious books of papal decrees and scholastic theology will be burnt according to ancient apostolic usage, inasmuch as the boldness of the enemies of the Gospel has waxed so great that they daily burn the evangelic books of Luther. Come, pious and zealous youth, to this pious and religious spectacle, for perchance now is the time when the anti-Christ must be revealed!"*

There were no lectures in the university that day. Students, faculty and townsfolk gathered in a great crowd. The students started the fire. One of the professors, Melanchthon, perhaps, placed on it the Canon or Church Laws. Then Luther solemnly laid on the Papal bull with the words,—"Since thou hast tormented God's Truth, He also torments thee in this fire. Amen." This was not the thoughtless act of a reckless fanatic. Luther deliberately planned and carried it out to show his contempt for the Papal claims of authority. He returned to the

*Translation in Smith, Martin Luther, p. 100.

university and spent the day in prayer. The students piled on other books against Luther and sang funeral songs about the fire in dishonor of the Pope.

Luther is Excommunicated 1521.

This was a complete break and early in January, 1521, the Pope issued the holy curse of excommunication against Luther, severing his relations to the Church and forbidding the faithful to shelter or care for him, and calling on the civil authorities to bring about his execution. Of course his sovereign, the Elector Frederick, did not execute him or did the people refuse him shelter; on the contrary, thousands in Germany were ready to stand by him to the death. Luther appealed to the Emperor, hoping to have an impartial commission appointed to investigate his claims. This was urged by many others also, especially, by Erasmus, the acknowledged leader of the culture of his time.

The Diet of Worms, 1521.

The Emperor came to Germany early in the spring of 1521 to hold his first Diet or Congress in the city of Worms. There was considerable business at the Diet, the drafting of a new constitution for the Empire, the settlement of the Roman tyranny and corruption in Germany, besides other matters.

Luther is summoned.

After the Diet had been in session for a month, Luther's case came up and much against the desires of the Pope's party, Luther was summoned to appear before the Diet in person. The Em-

peror's proceedings throughout were controlled by policies of state. "As to the justice of the condemnation, the sentence of the Pope was sufficient for him, a loyal Catholic in everything pertaining to his personal convictions and private religious life." But Charles was determined to require from the Pope the largest support he could obtain against France in return for executing the bull against Luther.

His Triumphal Entry.

The summons reached Luther in Holy Week and on Easter Monday he set out for Worms, safe-guarded by the Imperial herald. His whole journey was marked by ovations and expressions of the greatest loyalty. His arrival at Worms was heralded by the watchmen standing on the tower of the Cathedral. Though it was dinner-time, the whole city left their meal and rushed into the streets through which he passed to his lodging. Attempts had been made by both friends and enemies to persuade him to stay away from Worms, but in vain. He did not fear his foes and he did not heed the cautious advice of his friends. He had been summoned to make a public confession and to stand a public trial. He could not be deterred by the arts of private diplomacy. Instead of entering the city in the disgrace of an excommunicated heretic, he came accompanied and protected by the Imperial herald, almost in state. His rooms were constantly crowded with visitors.

His First Appearance before the Diet. April 17.

The next day, April 17, he was summoned to appear before the Diet at four o'clock. The streets were so crowded that he had to be conducted through gardens and alleys to the bishop's palace where the Diet was sitting. The hall, the doors, the windows and the neighboring roofs were crowded with people. It was six o'clock before Luther finally stood before the Diet. His books lay upon a table before the Emperor.

"Few moments in history have been at once so dramatic and so decisive as that in which Luther appeared before the Emperor and Diet at Worms. In the greatness of the tribunal, of the accused, and of the issues involved, nothing is lacking to impress a thoughtful mind. In the foreground of the assembly sat the young Emperor, on whose brows were united the vast, if shadowy, pretensions to Roman dominion and the weight of actual sovereignty over a large congeries of powerful states. Around him were the great princes of the realm, spiritual and temporal, and the representatives of the Free Cities of Germany. The nuncios, representing the supreme power of the Church, were conspicuous by their absence; the Pope would not even hear the rebel in his own defence.

"The son of peasants now stood before the son of Cæsars: the poor and till lately obscure monk before a body professing to represent the official voice of united Christendom. To challenge an infamous death was the least part of his courage: to set up his own individual belief and conscience against the deliberate, ancient, almost universal opinion of mankind required an audacity no less than sublime."*

*Smith, Life and Letters of Martin Luther, p. 112.

Time Granted for Consideration.

Luther was asked if the books on the table were his, and whether he wished to recant in whole or in part what they contained. Some one demanded that the titles of the books on the table be read. When this had been done, Luther replied that the books were his; but that before he should recant or reassert all that they contained, he ought to have time for consideration, since it was a matter of extreme importance. The Emperor granted him twenty-four hours and directed that he appear the next day at the same time to answer "orally and not in writing."

Some thought because Luther had asked for time, he had been intimidated and might recede from his former bold positions. That possibility Luther never contemplated. That night he wrote, "I shall not recant an iota if Christ be gracious to me."

The Second Time before the Diet, April 18.

The next day the crowds were even greater, and it was already dark when Luther reached the hall. He was asked the same question as on the preceding day. In replying, he begged pardon for any breach of etiquette that he may have committed unwittingly, and then said that he could not, of course, recant those things in his books which all held to be true, or those written against the tyranny and corruption of the Papacy which were known to all. A third group of his writings had been written against individuals who had defended the Pope. In them, he ac-

knowledged that at times he had been too harsh and unsparing in his denunciations, but he could not recant them without seeming to recede from his former positions. This he was not willing to do. After consultation the examiner demanded:—

"Luther, you have not answered to the point. You ought not to call in question what has been decided and condemned by councils. Therefore I beg you to give a simple, unsophisticated answer without horns (non cornutum). Will you recant or not?"

"Luther retorted:—

"Since your Majesty and Lordships ask for a plain answer, I will give you one without either horns or teeth. Unless I am convicted by Scripture or by right reason (for I trust neither in popes nor in councils, since they have often erred and contradicted themselves)—unless I am thus convinced, I am bound by the texts of the Bible, my conscience is captive to the Word of God, I neither can nor will recant anything, since it is neither right nor safe to act against conscience. God help me. Amen."*

"My conscience is captive to the Word of God."

"I will not recant."

The Effect of His Stand.

Uproar and confusion ensued. Those who favored Luther and German freedom cheered; others hissed or groaned. The Emperor could not believe that Luther had really meant that councils had erred. When the discussion became more violent, the Emperor adjourned the session. Luther commended himself to the clemency of

*Smith, Op. Cit., p. 117.

the Emperor, and cried out, "I cannot do otherwise. Here I stand. God help me!" Guards accompanied him back to his lodgings. When he reached them, he expressed his great relief by exclaiming, "I am through! I am through! I am through! Even though I had a hundred heads I would have had them all cut off at once before I would have recanted anything." Many of the German nobles were highly pleased with his course, among them his own ruler, Frederick, the Elector. Popular feeling was also strongly in his favor.

Liberty of Conscience Under the Word.

After some attempts at an understanding through a commission which bore no fruit, Luther left Worms on the 26th of April. He had made his great stand for liberty of conscience. He had sounded the keynote of Protestantism—no authority over the conscience except the Word of God, reasonably and soundly interpreted. The Emperor wished to proceed against Luther as a heretic so soon as his safe-conduct should expire. The German princes strongly advised against this course but without much effect upon the Emperor, except to delay the issuing of the ban of the Empire, calling upon all to avoid Luther and summoning the authorities to arrest him. The ban was issued on the 26th of May and dated May 8.

He starts back to Wittenberg.

Before it had been issued, Luther, quietly proceeding on his way back to Wittenberg, was

THE WARTBURG.

stopped by a group of masked knights who captured him and took him to the Castle of the Wartburg. The Elector had decided to keep him here in secret until he should see how affairs would turn out.

The Castle of the Wartburg is about a mile from Eisenach upon the summit of a steep hill overlooking the beautiful Thuringian valleys covered with forests. Luther was here for ten months. His room was not in the main building of the castle. It was reached by a narrow flight of stairs. It was furnished with a bedstead, table, stove and a stump for a stool. The window was of leaded glass and looked out over a fine view to the west. He was disguised as a knight. He roamed the forests and sometimes hunted with the others at the castle, though hunting was distasteful to him out of sympathy for the poor beasts slain. He spent most of his time in study in his room. His chief study was the Bible in Greek and Hebrew.

He is kept at the Castle of the Wartburg.

The best product of his stay at the Wartburg was his translation of the New Testament into German. Luther had appealed to the Bible as the only authority over a man's conscience. If that is so every man must have the Bible in a language which he can understand. There had been German Bibles before Luther's time, but their translations were very imperfect. They had been made from an imperfect Latin text. Luther made a very accurate and clear translation into idiomatic

He translates the Bible into German.

German from the best Greek text available. His Bible has formed the base of the German language and literature. Although the work was done with great care, it was done in a very short space of time. The New Testament was published in September, 1522. He continued to work translating the Old Testament which was published in 1534.

Though he was secretly hidden in the Wartburg and very few knew where he was, he was able to continue correspondence with his friends, who kept him informed of the progress of events. Other literary activities also occupied his time, particularly a great treatise on Monastic vows, dedicated to his father who had so bitterly opposed him when he took them.

## QUESTIONS.

1. How and to what extent did the practice of granting indulgences grow?
2. By what theory were they justified?
3. What was done with the money collected?
4. Who was to profit by the Jubilee indulgence of 1515 in Germany?
5. How was the campaign for indulgences conducted?
6. For what purposes did Luther post the Ninety-five Theses?
7. Why was the Pope antagonized by them?
8. Read the Theses, make an outline of them. Criticize them. (Appendix II.)
9. What did Cajetan do?
10. What did Miltitz do?

11. What political changes gave the Reformation time to grow?
12. What was the result of the Leipsic Debate?
13. What was the effect upon Germany of the Pope's Bull against Luther?
14. What did the Open Letter to the German Nobility contain?
15. Of what did the Babylonian Captivity treat?
16. What is the pamphlet on the Liberty of a Christian Man?
17. Describe the burning of the Bull.
18. Why was Luther summoned to Worms?
19. Describe Luther's appearances before the Diet.
20. Why was his stand at Worms important?
21. What became of Luther afterward?
22. What did he do at the Wartburg?
23. For what did Luther stand at Worms? Do you think he was right?
24. For what Christian teachings are you ready to stand public trial?
25. For what in your religion would you risk your life?
26. Do you hold your beliefs as a result of the study of the Word or only because the Church says so and you have been brought up that way?

## CHAPTER VI.

### Luther's Position Defined and Legalized.

The Diet of Worms branded Luther and his followers as outlaws. That the ban was not carried into immediate execution was due to the political interests of the Emperor. After the Diet of Worms he was absent from Germany for nine years. He did not care to stir up the German princes by insisting upon the execution of an edict which was distasteful to many of them. He had enough to do himself, in putting down rebellion in Spain, in crushing his rival, Francis of France, in keeping the Pope in line with his purposes and in increasing and consolidating his Austrian possessions. The Imperial Council, which controlled affairs in Germany during his absence, was divided and unable to take any decisive stand.

Imperial Politics prevents the execution of the Ban.

Luther's removal to the Wartburg had left Andrew Bodenstein of Carlstadt, usually called simply Carlstadt, the dean of the Wittenberg faulty, at the head of the Reformation movement in Wittenberg. He was an extremist and began to make many changes in the Church there. He encouraged two of the priests to marry. He questioned the validity of monastic vows, in

Carlstadt.

Changes in Wittenberg.

consequence of which many monks left their monasteries. Luther wrote the treatise on monastic vows, already noted, in order to define his position on this question. Luther was not opposed to these changes. Carlstadt also advocated and introduced sweeping changes in the public services of the Church. Along with Gabriel Zwilling he attacked the Mass and the observance of the Canonical Hours of prayer. This was in the fall of 1521. There was much rioting in the churches and in the city, most of it by the students, and not infrequently from mere student love of rough fun. Luther made a secret visit to Wittenberg in December. He believed that the disturbances were chiefly irresponsible student affairs which would soon quiet down. He left a warning to all Christians to keep from uproar and sedition.

Rioting by the Students.

On the twenty-seventh of December three men came to Wittenberg from Zwickau where they had attempted to violently reform both Church and State on the plea of religious freedom. The leader of the movements at Zwickau had been Thomas Muenzer. When the authorities took steps to put down their violence, Muenzer escaped into Bohemia. These three men, his companions, came to Wittenberg. They claimed to be prophets, having visions from the Lord who guided them directly by His Spirit without the Word. They despised learning and order.

The Zwickau "Prophets."

They had been directed, they said, to overturn existing authorities and to reorganize everything. Carlstadt was greatly influenced by them. He praised direct revelation and disparaged learning. While many of the Lutherans at Wittenberg did not approve the course things were taking, they were unable to prevent it. Melanchthon, who was only twenty-four years old, could not do much either. Indeed he was partly won by some of their doctrines, especially, that of not baptizing children, but only adults who confessed a conscious faith. Luther sought to strengthen him by a letter in which he says:—

How to detect False Prophets.

"Coming now to the 'prophets,' let me first say that I do not approve your irresolution, especially as you are more richly endowed with the spirit and with learning than I am. In the first place, those who bear witness of themselves are not to be believed, but spirits must be proved. You act on Gamaliel's contrary advice. Hitherto I have heard of nothing said or done by them which Satan could not emulate. Do you, in my place, search out whether they approve their calling. For God never sent any one who was not either called by men or attested by miracles, not even His own Son * * * Do not receive them if they assert that they come by mere revelation * * * Pray search their innermost spirit and see whether they have experienced those spiritual straightenings, that divine birth, death and infernal torture. If you find their experiences have been smooth, bland, devout (as they say) and ceremonious, do not approve them, though they claim to have been snatched up to the third heaven * * * Divine Majesty does not speak directly; rather no man shall see Him

and live. Nature bears no small stars and no insignificant words of God * * * Try not to see even Jesus in glory until you have seen Him crucified."*

The tumults and riots, however, grew worse. Altars and pictures were destroyed. Nobles and princes protested to the civil authorities. Even war was threatened.

Luther returns to Wittenberg.

In February the City Council of Wittenberg sent a request to Luther to return. The Elector was very much opposed to this, fearing both for Luther's safety and his own. But Luther wrote to him assuring him that God would care for him and that the plans he had in mind would be helpful to the Elector himself. So Luther went to Wittenberg, though he still wore a disguise. He spent two days getting his bearings. Then, throwing off his disguise, he preached eight sermons in succession; March 9 to 16, exhorting moderation. As Christians we should not boastingly take advantage of our freedom in Christ, but seek to serve one another in love. In the second of the sermons, he says:—

Eight Sermons on Christian Liberty.

Freedom of Conscience must be limited by respect for similar Freedom in others.

"Compel or force any one with power I will not, for faith must be gentle and unforced. Take an example by me. I opposed indulgences and all the papists, but not with force; I only wrote, preached, and used God's Word, and nothing else. That Word, while I slept and drank beer with Melanchthon and Amsdorf, has broken the papacy more than any king or emperor ever broke it. Had I wished it, I might have brought Ger-

*Translation in Smith, Martin Luther, p. 139.

many to civil war. Yes, at Worms I might have started a game which would not have been safe for the Emperor, but it would have been a fool's game. So I did nothing, but only let the Word act."*

After enunciating these general principles, that the Church cannot be reformed by violence and that Christian people are bound to submit to the civil magistrates, he took up the matters which had disturbed them in detail and applying these principles to them, showed how Christians should act in attempting reforms.

In a letter written about the same time, he says:—

Faith must not be Forced.

"Be on your guard against all innovations made by public decree or popular agitation. What our friends attempt by force and violence must be resisted by word only. It is Satan who urges us to extreme measures * * * No one is to be compelled to the faith or to the things that are of faith, but to be drawn by word that he may believe and come of his own accord."†

Freedom of Conscience Limited by Respect for the Conscience of Others.

*The first limitation of the freedom of conscience* for which Luther stood at Worms is, that it must *respect the same freedom of conscience in others and force no one by law or violence to do or leave undone anything in matters of faith.* By the power of teaching alone the truth shall win, convince and convert. "They are not Christians who would go beyond the Word

*Translation in Smith, Martin Luther, p. 148.
†Translation in Smith, Martin Luther, p. 149.

and appeal to force even if they boast they are full of holy spirits."

Carlstadt further held that polygamy might be allowed because it is not forbidden by the Bible. He also taught that the bread and wine in the Sacrament are merely symbols, somewhat as Zwingli taught in Switzerland. Luther held that monogamy is God's will but he also allowed that polygamy might be permitted under unusual circumstances on Scriptural grounds, citing the example of the patriarchs. But Carlstadt's doctrine of the Lord's Supper he could not accept, not finding it taught in the Bible that way. This is a *second limitation on Freedom of the Conscience,* namely, that *it is bound in all things by the Word.*

Freedom of Conscience is further limited by subordination to the Word.

In 1523 Franz von Sickingen and Ulrich von Hutten led an uprising of the lesser knights in Germany. They claimed to be fighting for Luther's cause. The real cause was the ambition of Sickingen. They attacked the Archbishop of Treves, hoping eventually to overthrow all the great princes, of whom he was one, and to establish the lesser knights in the power and prestige they had formerly had. The uprising failed. Luther has little to say of it. What he does say is in opposition to it. The freedom of the Christian is not to be forced upon others. Religious liberty does not mean freedom to force others in its name. The uprising cast some discredit on the

The Uprising of the Knights.

Reformation. Some looked for the "new pope" meaning Luther, to follow the "new emperor," Sickingen, into defeat.

The Peasant Uprising.

The next year another revolutionary uprising claiming to have a basis in the Reformation took place. No doubt it was made possible, in part, by the disturbed condition of the times. It was a general uprising of the peasants. Uprisings of the peasants had been frequent for some time. There was a more or less well defined understanding amongst them which often caused local uprisings. This rebellion was more widespread and bloody than those which had preceded it. Luther constantly preached against it. But his stand for freedom of conscience and his many writings claiming the essential equality of all souls, coupled with his frequent flaying of those in authority undoubtedly furnished a stimulus which others carried to extremes of anarchy. The peasant uprising began in 1524 and spread rapidly. Their demands were embodied in Twelve Articles early in 1525. Groups of peasants met and presented these demands to their lords. In many cases they were cruelly driven away. This increased their discontent. Preachers, like Muenzer, stirred them up still more and held before their minds the hopes of a socialistic state where perfect equality would prevail. They tried to persuade them that the way to bring this about, was for them to rise and slay all in authority.

The Twelve Articles 1525.

Though Muenzer knew that Luther was opposed to him, it is probable that most of the peasants believed that Luther's cause and theirs were one. They looked to him for support and used his words to reinforce their own ideals. In April, 1525, Luther, in an exhortation to peace in response to the Twelve Articles of the peasants, claimed that both sides were at fault.

Luther exhorts against violence.

"He informed the princes they had God against them, not merely the peasants, and if they did not cease exploiting their subjects, they would suffer the divine vengeance. On the other hand, he exhorted the peasants to present their grievances in an orderly way, without uproar or show of force. Their complaints might be well founded, but violence was not thereby justified. Only the constituted authorities had the right to use the sword, and he who attacked them on any ground whatever was worse than those whom he attacked. The doctrine of the divine right of civil rulers, already stated more than once by Luther, here again found emphatic expression.

Christianity comports only with passive resistance.

"It was still worse of the peasants, it seemed to him, to seek justification for their conduct in the gospel of Christ. If they wished to fight for their rights like ordinary men, well and good, but he would not stand by in silence while they used Christ's name in support of their course and brought scandal on the gospel. Christianity comports only with passive resistance. If they really wished to follow Christ, they would drop the sword and resort to prayer. The gospel has to do with spiritual, not temporal, affairs. Even to condemn slavery on Christian grounds is to turn spiritual freedom into physical, and reduce the gospel to a fleshly thing. Earthly society cannot exist without inequalities; the

true Christian finds his Christian liberty and his opportunity for Christian service in the midst of them and in spite of them."*

Luther suggests arbitration.

He finally suggested arbitration. His exhortation, however, was in vain, though at the risk of his life, he went through the rebellious district preaching these great Christian principles. When he found that the storm was growing worse and that the princes feared to put it down, he addressed a ringing exhortation to them to maintain their God-given authority by the power of the sword He had entrusted to them and to put down the revolt with vigor. His advice was heeded. Under the leadership of Philip of Hesse several thousand peasants were defeated and scattered at Frankenhausen on May 15. Muenzer was captured and killed. The defeat of the peasants was followed by acts of wanton cruelty and bloodshed on the part of the princes. Public indignation was rightly aroused. Luther was blamed for their excesses, but he says truly:—

When violence increases, he urges the nobles to use the sword.

They do effectively, and with cruelty.

"But neither did I undertake to instruct those mad, raging, insane tyrants, who even after their combat cannot satiate their thirst for blood and never in their whole lifelong ask for Christ, for it is all the same to such bloodhounds whether they are guilty or innocent, or whether they please God or the devil. They

Luther is not to blame for that.

*McGiffert, Martin Luther, p. 253.

use the sword to satisfy their passions, so I leave them to their master, the devil."*

Freedom of conscience does not mean that equality in worldly things is to be grasped or that divinely ordained institutions of government are to be overthrown. The Christian does not rebel. His freedom is not external, but inner and spiritual. On the other hand, the ruler who holds the sword by God's will in order that he may decide external things according to God's law, dare not permit rebellion to go unpunished, but he must maintain the order and peace of society. The third limitation on the interpretation of the freedom for which Luther stood is, that *freedom of conscience does not permit lawlessness, or the violent overthrow of social conditions.* The assertion of these principles cost Luther much popularity. Many, misunderstanding the freedom for which he stood, found in his principles the root of anarchy and pointed to the Peasants Revolt as the evidence of it. Others believed that he had been frightened and cowardly deserted the cause of freedom when he counselled moderation and then called on the rulers to put down violence with force. Neither apprehended the great spiritual truth for which he stood.

The Third Limitation on Christian Freedom:

Christian Freedom does not permit Lawlessness or seek Social Reforms by Violence.

Luther's Popularity Decreased.

In 1525 Luther's controversy with Erasmus defined from another angle what he meant by evangelical faith and freedom. It alienated still

*Translation in Smith, Op. Cit., p. 165.

Desiderius Erasmus.

others from him. Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, was the greatest humanist of his time. Though Erasmus was a humanist, he had not fallen under the pagan and atheistic influences which had made Italy Christian in name only.

"Back to Christ."

His religious interest was, "back to Christ." To enable people to get back to Christ, he had published a revised Greek New Testament in 1516.

Greek New Testament.

It was the best text of the Greek Testament available. Erasmus desired reform in the Church and he was working in his own way to bring it about.

Praise of Folly.

He wrote a book called "The Praise of Folly." It is a satire on the vices and the superstitious follies of the priests and monk. He aimed to raise the moral standards of Christians to conformity with Christ's teachings through clear instructions according to the New Testament and through ridiculing the abuses and faults of his times. He had no faith in violence or extremes, believing that in the end they did more harm than good.

Reform by Education, not by Revolution.

"Evils he believed could be eradicated only by a slow and gradual process. Education, not revolution, was the one effective method of reform. He therefore remained to the end of his days within the Catholic fold, declining to be dragged into open conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities and refusing to countenance rebellion and schism."*

Erasmus favors Luther.

He praised Luther's theses on indulgences and used all his influence in Luther's favor with the authorities at the Diet of Worms.

*McGiffert, Martin Luther, p. 263.

But when Luther attacked the Church with increasing vigor, he alienated Erasmus who could not help feeling that Luther's violent language and precipitancy spoiled reform in the only way it could be accomplished. Luther regarded Erasmus as half-hearted, cowardly and even anti-Christian. They both avoided public controversy as long as possible.

Erasmus alienated as Luther proceeds.

At last, responding to the earnest entreaties of his friends, Erasmus published a book on the Freedom of the Will which contradicted Luther's positions on the bondage of the will. Erasmus did not desire the controversy and chose a subject on which Luther differed not only with the Romanists but also with the humanists. For, in denying the freedom of the natural will of man, Luther departed both from the Catholic idea of meritorious good works, and also from the trust in human ability that characterized humanists. Luther did not reply at once. When he did reply he showed clearly the difference between Erasmus and himself with his usual sharpness.

Erasmus on the Freedom of the Will.

Luther's Reply.

"Nothing could be more extreme than his statement of the theory of determinism [in Luther's reply]. Regarding it as a fundamental doctrine, inextricably bound up with his gospel of salvation by faith alone, he defended it with all the earnestness and vigor he was capable of; while he took the pains to denounce in sweeping terms any dependence upon human reason as impious and heathen. To accept unquestionably

God's revelations of truth, however irrational they may appear, is as much a duty as to submit uncomplainingly to His absolute decrees, however harsh they seem.

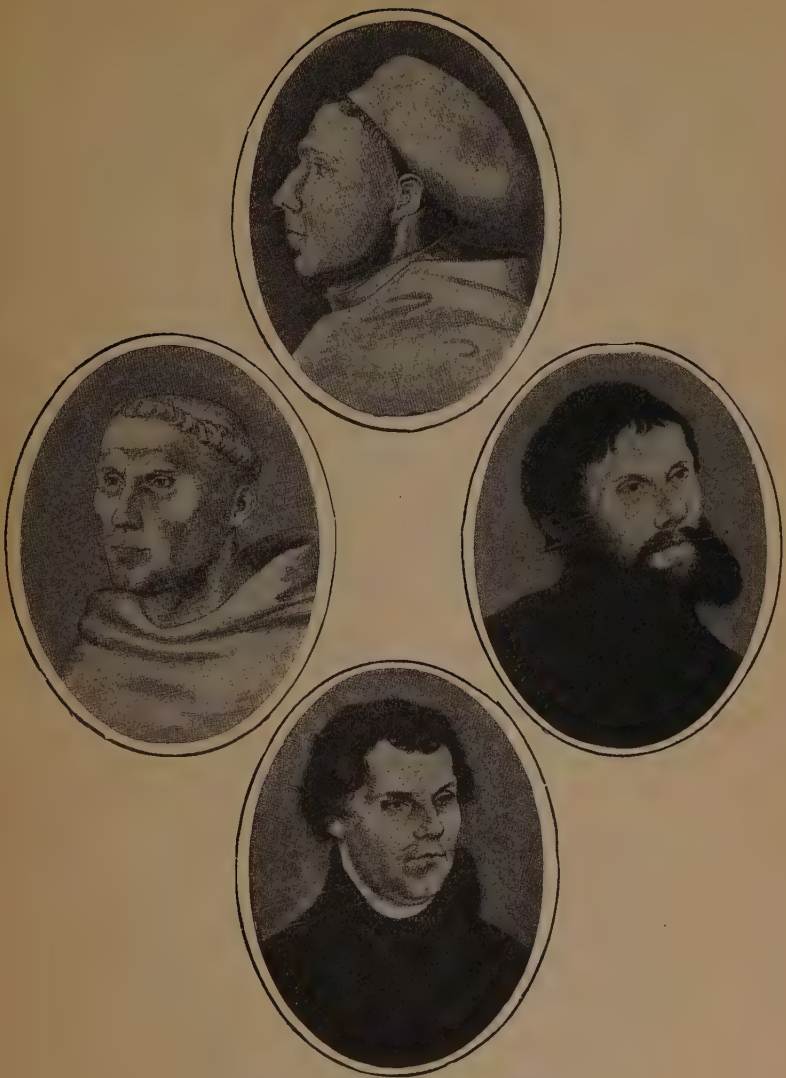
"Nowhere does the difference between Luther's religious principles and those of the typical humanist appear more clearly than in this book. What we know as the evangelical type of Christian experience, with its renunciation of all self-confidence, is as far as possible from the rationalistic, with its emphasis upon the moral and intellectual ability of man. Luther was a genuine evangelical. And if Erasmus was not a thoroughgoing rationalist, as his book on free will, with its recognition of the constant need of divine grace abundantly shows, his spirit was akin to that of the rationalists of all ages. Religious and ethical as the great humanist really was, to Luther he appeared no better than a heathen; while to Erasmus Luther's Christianity seemed benighted to the last degree."*

Christian Freedom is not natural, it is the Gift of God.

So the leading intellectuals were also alienated from Luther.

The *Christian freedom* for which Luther stood *is therefore further limited by its recognition of complete dependence on God.* It is not a proud freedom in which we walk by our own power and goodness. We are saved by grace, not by our merits or works. We are justified by faith, not by our accomplishments. God comes to us with the offer of salvation, we cannot go to Him and demand it. The controversy between the evangelicals and the rationalists still continues. Pure culture—pure science, pure art, pure phil-

*McGiffert, Martin Luther, p. 267.



FOUR PORTRAITS OF LUTHER.

osophy—with faith in mankind and human progress will ever be adverse to pure religion. Nevertheless, evangelical religion stands for a deeper truth than all the sciences and arts and philosophies of men. It is deeper than culture, more fundamental than refinement, more vital than logic. Religion is the action of God upon the soul. Rationalistic culture is the reaction of the soul to its environment.

The next definition of Luther's position was against another stream of the Reformation. A reformation of the Church had taken place in German Switzerland under the leadership of Ulrich Zwingli. Zwingli had quickly won the support of the government of the city of Zurich which was practically independent. His aim was social as well as religious reform. His tendencies and tastes were humanistic. His outlook was broader than Luther's. He had not passed through the deep religious experiences that Luther had. He approaches the Gospel from the point of view of social reform rather than that of the soul's salvation. With Luther he held to the supreme authority of the Bible; but he approached it as the revelation of God's will for our lives, while Luther found in it the power of God unto salvation. Zwingli's theology and church practices differed accordingly. He was opposed to the pretensions of the Papacy, as much as Luther was. He had united several of

Zwingli and the Reformation in Switzerland.

Political and Social as well as Religious.

the Swiss cantons or states into a strong political alliance against the Roman power. He hoped to extend this alliance to the Lutheran princes of Germany and perhaps to the King of France against the Pope and the Emperor in order to establish Christian liberty and a reconstructed Germany.

The Emperor and the Protestant Princes.

The course of politics in Germany had gone against the Lutheran princes and they had begun to feel the need of greater military support. The Emperor crushed the King of France in 1524. He then intimated that he would move against the Protestants of Germany. Therefore the Protestant princes, in 1526, formed a league, known as the League of Torgau. But at the first Diet of Spires in the same year, the Emperor favored the Protestants because the Pope had absolved the King of France from the treaty obligations into which he had entered with the Emperor after his defeat. The Emperor lost the fruits of his victory by this action of the Pope and retaliated by favoring the Protestants in Germany. The Diet therefore decreed that the question of the evangelical princes enforcing the Edict of Worms should be deferred. The Emperor then proceeded against the Pope and sacked Rome.

The Protest of 1529.

In 1529 at the second Diet of Spires, things had changed and the Catholic princes were in the majority. They voted against the evangelical cause. Five evangelical princes and fourteen

evangelical cities then drew up a protest from which the name of Protestants has ever since been given to those who are opposed to Rome.

A military alliance of the Protestant princes was proposed by Philip of Hesse. He would have been glad to include Protestant Switzerland, together with Strassburg, Basel and other cities where Lutheran views were prevalent. Luther opposed the alliance on general principles, and he was unalterably opposed to any alliance not based on a common view of the Gospel. So Philip of Hesse arranged that Luther and Zwingli should meet at Marburg in order to secure, if possible, a uniform theological basis for the alliance. Luther and Zwingli came to practical agreement on all the points presented except the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Luther constantly affirmed that Christ's actual body and blood are really present in the Lord's Supper; whereas, Zwingli regarded the bread and wine as mere symbols and the supper itself as nothing more than a memorial. Luther said that he would have gladly adopted Zwingli's views years before, for it would have been a powerful weapon against the Roman doctrine of the Mass, but he could not conscientiously find that his Bible said that. So once more limiting his freedom by the Scriptures, he withstood Zwingli at Marburg as he had withstood the Pope at Worms. He refused to make common cause

Philip of Hesse proposes an Alliance.

Luther and Zwingli at Marburg.

They differ on the Lord's Supper.

with Zwingli and therefore refused to give him his hand in token of alliance. They parted as friends in mutual good-will. Luther saw that there was a real difference between them and an alliance between them would have compromised him in his clear witness for the Word.

Nothing so vividly attests Luther's moral courage and his faith as the way in which he fearlessly stands on the Word of God as he sees it, even though his stand alienates his friends and makes it impossible for his cause to have the support of others who are also interested in reform. Luther never swerved from his entire submission to the Word. He sought to avoid every departure from it which he felt must lead into extravagances like those of Carlstadt and Muenzer. Besides he was averse to advancing the cause of faith by rebellion and force of arms. He did not wish to be a party to a plot against the Emperor. He was unwilling to jeopardize the pure truth of the Word by an alliance in which he was not fully agreed. His disagreement with Zwingli is not the result of a reaction on his part. It is the firm carrying out of his great principles of freedom, but of freedom only in and under the Word of God.

Luther stands only on the Word of God

Many misunderstand Luther and call him intolerant and self-contradictory but throughout his principle is the same—the Word of God is supreme. He never sought the freedom so many

have sought from his day to ours,—autonomy or self-government. He stood only for the Word. He desired not to be free, but only to be free to obey the Word. Luther is the champion of freedom, the freedom of the Word. Zwingli, Calvin and Erasmus appeal to a man more readily than Luther does, unless a deep experience of sin and salvation similar to Luther's, forms part of his life. Others may trust their reason or their learning or their power; Luther and those like him depend absolutely on the Word. Others sought to make sweeping reforms; Luther sought only to establish and defend the truth of God's Word, centering in Christ, the only Saviour. Once more the freedom of the Lutheran Christian is absolutely limited by the Word of God. Every thought must be in subjection to Christ. However promising or reasonable an argument or a theory may be, he cannot support it if it is against the Word of God. Even though his adherence to the Word as he understands it, appears to be unreasonable and even though it alienates friends and allies, he still stands by that Word.

Not on Reason or Learning or Power.

Charles V. called a Diet to meet at Augsburg in 1530. His wars with France being successful and an alliance concluded with the Pope and the Turk driven back, he was once more free to turn his attention to Germany. He announced that he intended to settle the religious question

in Germany and that he was willing to give a fair hearing to all. Accordingly the Lutherans prepared a confession. It was written by Melanchthon and approved by Luther who could not attend in person, because he was still under the ban. This confession is the famous Augsburg Confession. It is the fundamental confession of all Lutherans to the present day. The Diet assembled in June, 1530, when the confession was presented. The Roman Catholics did not present a confession but sometime later offered a refutation of the Lutheran confession. Other Protestants also presented their confessions.

The Augsburg Confession.

The Catholic Confutation.

The discussions of the Diet dragged on for several months. A committee was appointed in which Melanchthon was the only Protestant. His readiness to concede many things in the interests of peace was known to all. The result of the work of this commission was feared by the Protestants. Strong letters from Luther kept up their courage and prevented yielding. Finally in September, after some of the Protestant princes had left, among them Philip of Hesse, who left in August, and was much feared because of his power, the Emperor submitted to the Diet a "recess," or decree, calling on the Protestants to recant before the fifteenth of the following April, since their confession had been refuted. Melanchthon prepared an answer to the Catholic

The Protestant Princes withdraw.

Decree that the Protestants shall recant.

document. It is known as the Apology of the Augsburg Confession. This was also presented to the Diet. No action was taken. The Apology was published later by the Protestants. The Protestant princes withdrew from the Diet; the Catholic, remained in session until November. A threatening invasion of the Turk again saved the Protestant cause, for the Catholic princes of Germany were unwilling to risk civil war in forcibly carrying out the Edict with the possibility of a Turkish invasion at any time.

The Apology.

Turkish Invasion.

The Augsburg Confession remains the fundamental position of the Lutheran Church in all lands. It marks the establishment of a Church on the principles for which Luther stood alone at Worms.

The Augsburg Confession fundamental to Lutheranism.

The course of the Reformation in Germany from this point is military and political rather than religious, and it may be dismissed in a few words. After the Protestant princes had failed to secure recognition at Augsburg, they formed the Schmalkald League to defend themselves and their subjects in the evangelical faith. Even Luther approved of this step. though he had previously opposed it. Overtures were made to France, Denmark, and to the Catholic Dukes of Bavaria. The Catholic princes of Germany also banded into a league and so Germany was divided. In 1532 the Emperor and the Diet agreed not to proceed against the Protestants until a

The Reformation becomes chiefly Political.

The Schmalkald League.

General Council of the Church should be called. After that Charles V. was occupied in wars with France and the Turks until 1546. In that year he attacked and crushed the Protestant princes. But in 1552 Maurice of Saxony suddenly accepted the evangelical faith, turned against the Emperor, defeated him in battle and concluded the Convention of Passau. This gave the adherents of the Augsburg Confession freedom in the exercise of their religion until the next meeting of the Diet. On the twenty-fifth of September, 1555, the Religious Peace of Augsburg granted to the territorial princes and free cities which then acknowledged the Augsburg Confession, freedom to worship in accordance with it in their territories; and it conferred the same rights on the Catholic princes. It was intended to prevent the spread of the Reformation and to maintain things as they then were. It legalized Lutheran doctrine in certain territories. It established the principle of territorial religion:—the faith of a state determined by its ruler.

Protestants crushed in 1546.

Matters reversed in 1552.

The religious Peace of Augsburg 1555.

Lutheran Doctrine Locally Legalized.

The great principle of justification by faith born of the Word of God, first finding its way in the heart of Luther as he searched for assurance of salvation, had now become the legal and constitutional principle of the religion of half of Germany. It was a long struggle before the principle became established. The end was not yet. Before the religious differences of the Em-

pire were settled, Europe had to pass through another religious war. This war ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, by which the boundaries of the nations and the recognition of the principles which have underlain the history of modern Europe were established.

QUESTIONS.

1. Who was the leader of the Reformation in Wittenberg when Luther was absent?
2. In what ways did he mislead?
3. By whom was he influenced?
4. Why did Luther leave the Wartburg?
5. What was Luther's attitude toward violence in reform?
6. Is it ever right to use force in the interests of faith?
7. What was the rising of the Knights?
8. Why did the Peasants revolt?
9. Who was their leader?
10. In what did they summarize their demands?
11. What was Luther's advice to them?
12. What had Luther to say to the nobles?
13. What duty does a Christian ruler have?
14. What duty does a Christian subject have?
15. Does Christian liberty justify rebellion?
16. Does Christian liberty imply political freedom?
17. Does Christian liberty imply social equality?
18. Who was Erasmus?
19. How did Erasmus help the Reformation?
20. Do you agree with Luther or Erasmus?
21. What is the difference between Christianity and culture?
22. Do you believe men are helped more by religion or by learning?

23. Why could not Luther agree to an alliance with Zwingli?
24. Was he right?
25. For what kind of freedom did Luther fight?
26. What is the fundamental Lutheran confession?
27. Have you read it?
28. What character does the reformation movement have after 1530?
29. What agreement finally established the Lutherans on an equality with the Catholics in Germany?
30. Summarize the limitations on Christian liberty noted in this chapter.
31. How does evangelical faith differ from worldly wisdom?
32. How does evangelical faith differ from Roman Catholic faith?
33. Make a brief statement of your own belief.
34. Make a brief summary of the Augsburg Confession.
35. Compare your belief with that expressed in the Augsburg Confession.

## CHAPTER VII.

### MARTIN LUTHER.

Luther's Appearance.

Luther was a man of medium height. His complexion was dark. He had strong, rugged features. His eyes attracted most attention, whether they flamed in anger and scorn on his foes or were lighted by the glory of faith and triumph. As a young man he was very thin, but he became quite stout in later life.

His Dress.

His dress was always plain. Until 1524 he wore the habit of a monk of his order. After that he wore the usual clothing of a university teacher. His clothes were often shabby and patched. On special occasions he wore his Doctor's gown and a gold chain.

He is fond of Good Cheer.

Luther was fond of jokes and good cheer. His language was not always above reproach, but he was considerably above the standards of his times. Though his conversation was coarse sometimes, no stain rests on his life. He was a moderate drinker, fond of good beer and wine, at a time when those beverages were used as commonly as tea and coffee are today. He never seems to have drunk to excess, though drunkenness was common in those days.

Favors Athletics, Dancing and the Theatre.

He was fond of society and loved to see people enjoy themselves. He favored athletic

games and sports both for their social and hygienic features. He approved of dancing and the theatre. McGiffert says:—

Disliked being alone.

"His chief relaxation he always found in social intercourse. Particularly when depressed, as he often was, he sought comfort and relief in the society of his friends, and was continually prescribing the same remedy for like depression in others. He once remarked: 'When Eve went walking by herself in Paradise the devil tempted and led her astray;' and on another occasion he declared he would rather associate with his swineherd and the swine than stay alone. Light conversation, jesting, and story-telling he thought especially good for low spirits, and often indulged in them, he said, just on that account. He also advised hearty eating and drinking for many a one, though not for everybody. To one of his young table companions, Jerome Weller, who was subject to frequent attacks of the blues, he wrote: 'Whenever the devil vexes you with such thoughts immediately seek the society of men, or drink more freely, or joke, or talk nonsense, or do some other hilarious thing. Why do you think I drink so much, converse with such freedom, and eat so often, if not to make sport of the devil and vex him when he is trying to vex and make sport of me?' "*

Sought companionship for the blues.

Not a pleasure seeker.

Though Luther was capital company and delighted in all these good things, he was not a glutton or pleasure seeker. He often forgot to eat entirely or snatched a bite only when he had to, so engrossed did he become in his work, particularly in his younger days.

*McGiffert, Martin Luther, p. 299.

Irritable in his old age through sickness and trouble.

In later life the stress of his long conflict, in which he was personally attacked most bitterly, coupled with constant illness—(he was subject to indigestion, calculus, rheumatism, gout, sciatica, heart and nervous disorders which caused him much suffering),—made him very irritable and he cannot be said to have had a mellow old age. His temper was always fiery. When aroused no language was too strong or bitter for him to employ. He was outspoken at all times. His faults were the inevitable accompaniment of his virtues. His indomitable will and sensitive conscience made him a jealous advocate of the truth. Much of his wrath is not personal. It is directed against the mistaken and anti-Christian teachings of his contemporaries.

Always outspoken.

He marries Catherine von Bora, an escaped Nun,

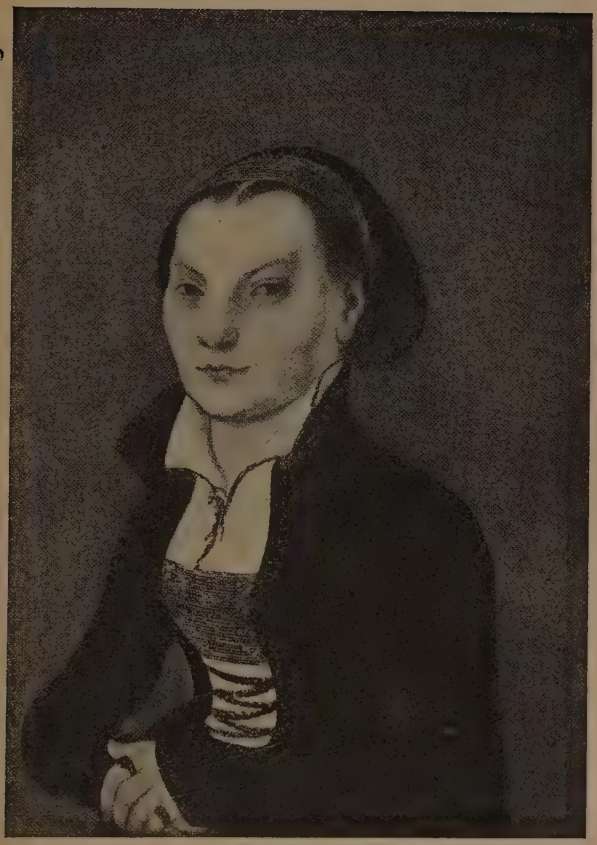
In June, 1525, Luther married Catherine von Bora. She was twenty-six and he was forty-two. She had been a nun. Stirred by the teachings of the Reformation, twelve nuns, of whom Catherine was one, escaped from the convent in which they had taken their vows. Nine of them came to Wittenberg in 1523. They found shelter in the Black Cloister. Three of them went directly to their own homes. Luther cared for those at the Black Cloister until satisfactory arrangements could be made for them with relatives, or until they were married. The last one remaining was Catherine.

Not from romantic Love.

The match does not seem to have been one of romantic love. Luther did not think of marrying Catherine at first. She had been engaged to a young student at the university but he failed to return to marry her. Luther had also urged the cause of another with her before he thought of marrying her himself. During the year preceding his marriage, he wrote a great deal favoring marriage for others and against the celibate vows of priests and monks. Many urged him to put his own teachings into practice. At last moved, perhaps, by pity for Catherine, and, perhaps, by desire to show that he really was as free to marry as he wrote of being, and, perhaps, to please his father, who was very anxious for him to marry, he decided to ask Catherine to be his wife. She accepted him. He chose a strange time to take the step. The peasant uprising was very serious just then and his great friend and benefactor, the Elector Frederick, had died only a month before. Once decided upon, the engagement was short. They were very quietly married in the living room of the Black Cloister. Only five others were present. Luther's announcement of the wedding to Asmdorf when he invited him to be present at the public announcement and banquet, held two weeks after the marriage, is interesting:—

A Quiet Wedding.

"The report is true that I married Katharine suddenly that I might not be compelled to hear the noisy



LUTHER'S WIFE.

talk customary on such an occasion. I hope I shall still live for a little while, and this last service I did not wish to refuse my father, who asked it of me. At the same time I wished to confirm what I had taught by my deed, for I find so many pusillanimous despite the light of the Gospel. Thus God has willed and done. For I am not passionately in love, but I esteem my wife. And hence to celebrate my marriage I shall give a banquet next Tuesday, when my parents will be present. I want especially to have you here; wherefore I now invite you, and beg you will not stay away if you can possibly help it."*

Announcement and invitation to Amsdorf.

The marriage created a great sensation. For Luther, a former monk, to marry an escaped nun was a violation both of their personal vows and of the laws of Church. Many were disgusted with the Reformation in consequence. Some thought that, after all, this was what Luther had chiefly desired and that at last the significance of the Reformation was revealed. False tales about him and his bride appeared in great numbers. His friends did not know what to think. Many of them feared he had made a fatal mistake. A lawyer, Jerome Schurf, before Luther was married, said:—

The sensation and diverse opinions the marriage caused.

"If this monk takes a wife, the whole world and the devil himself will laugh, and all the work he [Luther] has accomplished will come to naught."

Others thought that, if he wished to marry, he should have chosen someone who could have help-

*McGiffert, Martin Luther, p. 281.

ed him and the cause more than Catherine appeared able to do.

The Cloister becomes a Home.

But it was not a fatal mistake; nor did the work he had accomplished come to naught. The significance of the Reformation was indeed revealed—the cloister was transformed into a home. The false teaching that celibacy is a holier thing than marriage was blasted. The great principle of freedom from the old system and its false asceticism was vindicated and carried out.

Catherine had splendid abilities hidden behind a rather homely appearance. Luther's esteem for her grew with acquaintance. He treasured her, he said, more than France or Venice. An early comment he made on married life is amusing:—

Early Comment on Married Life.

"In the first year of marriage one has strange thoughts. At table he thinks; 'Formerly I was alone, now I am with some one.' In bed when he wakes, he sees beside him a pair of pigtails which he did not see before. The first year after our marriage Katie sat beside me when I studied, and when she could think of nothing else to say asked" foolish and ignorant questions.*

Later he makes a beautiful comment on married life:—

"Ah, dear Lord, marriage is not an affair of nature, but a gift of God. It is the sweetest and dearest, yes,

*Translation in Smith, Martin Luther, p. 177.

purest life. It is far better than celibacy when it turns out well; but when it turns out ill, it is hell. For though all women as a rule know the art of taking a man captive with tears, lies, and persuasions, and are able to distort everything and employ fair words, nevertheless, when truth and faith, children and fruits of love are there, and marriage is regarded as holy and divine, then it is indeed a blessed state. How eagerly I longed for my dear ones as I lay deadly ill at Schmalkalden! I thought I should never again see wife and children here. How I mourned over the separation! I am convinced that the natural longing and love a husband has for his wife and parents for their children are greatest of all in those who are dying. Now that I am by God's grace well again, I cherish my wife and children so much the more. No one is so spiritual as not to feel such inborn love and longing. For the union and communion of man and wife are a great thing."*

A Later Appreciation.

The Black Cloister was given to Luther and his wife by the Elector of Saxony to whom it belonged. It was their home as long as Luther lived. The management of it devolved entirely upon Catherine. It is fortunate that she was a fine manager for Luther spent his money and gave it away most freely. Through her care they were able to make ends meet and to entertain the many who were constantly there. They boarded students attending the university, as most of the professors did. Besides there were always friends from many parts of Europe visiting them

The Black Cloister is the Luther Home.

The full Household.

*Translation in McGiffert, Op. Cit., p. 287.

for longer or shorter periods. Poor relatives were frequently sheltered and made welcome. In 1542 George Held described the house as, "inhabited by a miscellaneous and promiscuous crowd of youths, students, girls, widows, old maids, and children, and very unrestful."

Six Children.

Martin and Catherine had six children. The oldest was a son named John; the next a daughter, Elizabeth, who died in infancy. Of her Luther wrote:—

"My dear little daughter Elizabeth is dead. She has left me wonderfully sick at heart and almost womanish, I am so moved by pity for her. I could never have believed how a father's heart could soften for his child."*

The next daughter, Magdalene, named for her aunt, died at fourteen. The account left of her death is very sweet.

Magdalene's Death.

"As his daughter lay very ill, Dr. Luther said: 'I love her very much, but dear God, if it be Thy will to take her, I submit to Thee.' Then he said to her as she lay in bed: 'Magdalene, my dear little daughter, would you like to stay here with your father, or would you willingly go to your Father yonder?' She answered: 'Darling father, as God wills.' Then said he: 'Dearest child, the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak.' Then he turned away and said: 'I love her very much; if my flesh is so strong, what can my spirit do? God has given no bishop so great a gift in a thousand years as He has given me in her. I am angry with myself that I cannot rejoice in heart and be thankful as I ought.'

*Translation in Smith, Martin Luther, p. 251.

"Now as Magdalene lay in the agony of death, her father fell down before the bed on his knees and wept bitterly and prayed that God might free her. Then she departed and fell asleep in her father's arms * * * As they laid her in the coffin he said: 'Darling Lena, you will rise and shine like a star, yea, like the sun * * * I am happy in spirit, but the flesh is sorrowful and will not be content, the parting grieves me beyond measure * * * I have sent a saint to heaven.'"*

His next child was a boy whom they named Martin. Shortly after his birth Luther wrote:—

Little Martin.

"The youngest children are always the most loved by the parents. My little Martin is my dearest treasure. Hans and Lena can now speak and do not need so much care, therefore it is that parents always love the little infants who need their love the most."†

The Quarrel of the Counts of Mansfeld.

Luther's death is characteristic of his life. He persistently followed where duty led and there met the unknown and unexpected. Two brothers, Counts of Mansfeld, had quarreled over some property. Luther was called in to be the mediator. Twice he went to meet them only to find that they had gone elsewhere. The third attempt in January and February, 1546, was successful. After much hardship from the weather and the floods, he reached their castle in Eisleben. After several weeks the dispute was settled. The day before he intended to start home again, he was not feeling well and had to be rubbed with

Luther, the Mediator.

*Translation in Smith, Op. Cit., p. 353.
†Translation in Ibid., p. 352.

hot cloths on retiring. He woke early in the morning with severe pain and called out:—

"O Lord God, how I suffer! Dear Dr. Jonas, I believe I am going to remain here in Eisleben, where I was born and baptized."

Luther's Death, Feb. 18, 1546.

Physicians were called at once. He soon passed into a stupor from which he was aroused with difficulty by Jonas' question, "Reverend father, do you stand firm by Christ and the doctrine you have preached?" After replying, "Yes," in a faint voice, he again became unconscious. He died quietly between two and three o'clock in the morning of the eighteenth of February.

The cause of his death has been disputed. Some attribute it to apoplexy; others to heart disease. Escorted by a great company, the body was taken to Wittenberg at the urgent request of the Elector of Saxony, and buried in the Castle Church on the twenty-second of February.

The Burial at Wittenberg. Feb. 22.

Luther primarily a Teacher.

Luther spent his life primarily as a teacher. His writings grew out of his teachings. They were written to combat the errors which he found in the Church and the university. He preached frequently, and for many years, regularly in Wittenberg. His sermons were always of a practical nature. The needs of the people led him into many pastoral duties. His reform work laid upon him many of the duties of a bishop.

INTERIOR OF CASTLE CHURCH.

Records of every phase of his activities remain in his numerous letters, addresses and pamphlets.

His German Bible.

His three "Primary Works" have been noted, —The Open Letter to the German Nobility, The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, and The Liberty of the Christian Man. Perhaps his greatest literary work is the translation of the Bible into German. This has also been mentioned. It is remarkable for its fidelity, boldness, clearness and intimate personal touch. It has formed the basis of German literature to an even greater degree than The King James Version, which is indebted to it, underlies modern English.

Luther's Attitude toward the Bible.

Luther regarded the Bible as the Word of God, infallible in its sphere. Yet he freely criticised it, anticipating some of the results attained by modern literary criticism. The chief thing in the Bible Luther held to be the message of the Gospel—salvation by faith in Christ. That is the central truth of the Bible by which all else is to be interpreted and in relation to which all else is to be valued. He had no difficulties with the very evident mistakes and contradictions in parts of the Bible, so long as the clear Gospel was safe-guarded. Indeed he sometimes said: "The Word of God is the Gospel." He did not find in it a law-book covering all the relations of life beyond which one dare not go, nor did he find

it a revelation concerning all human knowledge; but he valued it as "the Holy Scriptures which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through the faith which is in Christ Jesus." (2 Tim. 3: 15.) He would no doubt rejoice in the great results obtained by modern literary criticism which have done so much to make the Bible clear. He would likewise rejoice in the results of the researches of the archeologists and historians which have given us a truer and more vivid idea of the life and times of the Bible. But he would have no patience with the scholars who find in the Bible nothing but the guesses of Hebrew philosophers and who see in Jesus nothing more than a moral teacher. He would not tolerate the criticism which destroys the Gospel message and makes light of the marvelous facts of redemption in Christ. He comes to the Bible to find salvation, not wisdom, and so differs from many of his contemporaries and from a majority of modern Biblical scholars.

Luther and Biblical Criticism.

His Catechisms are next in importance. In visiting the churches of Saxony, he found ignorance of the fundamental truths of Christianity in both priests and people. So he prepared two Catechisms, the larger for parents and teachers, the smaller, "in the plain form in which it is to be taught by the head of the family." Both are gems of simple and lucid explanation. The small Catechism is a "heart book, doctrine ex-

Luther's Catechisms, 1529.

pressed in living devotion." It is the foundation for instruction before confirmation in all Lutheran churches. It is brief and easy to memorize. The Catechisms were published in 1529.

Luther's Reformation of the Church Service was, perhaps, next in importance. After he had finally broken with the Roman Church it seemed incongruous to continue its ceremonies. The excesses of Carlstadt and others showed what might happen if changes in the Services were not carefully made. So Luther prepared a form of service which retained all the Scriptural elements of the customary services of the Church, removing only the prayers to the Virgin and Saints and the references to the Mass as a sacrifice. The result was a strong and inspiring Order of Service. It was published in December, 1523. It formed the basis for others drawn up shortly afterwards in different provinces in Germany, and in other lands. These are the sources from which the Common Service, used in the Lutheran Churches of America, has been drawn. This Service of Luther's also furnished a model to a considerable extent for the compilers of the Prayer Book of the Church of England when they revised their services. It is on that account that the services in the Lutheran and Episcopal Churches are very similar. Luther's Order for the Chief Service or Communion was preceded in the year 1523 by revised orders for Daily Serv-

His Reform of the Service 1523.

ices in the Churches and by a translation of the form to be used in Baptism.

His Hymns.

In order that the people might take part in worship, Luther began to write and translate hymns to be sung during the service. Formerly the people had no part in the services except to watch the spectacle performed by the priests and the choir. A collection of eight hymns, six of which were by Luther himself appeared in 1524. It was quickly followed by collections of twenty-five and thirty-two hymns respectively. These are the first hymn books of the Evangelical Church. In 1527 he published the great hymn, "A Mighty Fortress is Our God."

Treatises, Pamphlets, Sermons.

Luther's controversial treatises and pamphlets cover a wide range of subjects, both doctrinal and practical. They do not present a complete theological system for he wrote them to meet specific emergencies and took no trouble to guard his utterances against contradiction in detail. Many of his sermons are also in existence. They are models of clear and intelligent treatment, combined with the utmost simplicity.

Letters.

He was a great letter writer, receiving and answering letters from persons all over Europe. It is marvelous that he was able to write so much. Yet all of his writings show careful thought and wide culture, a tenacious memory and brilliant selection of materials.

Dr. McGiffert says of Luther:—

McGiffert's estimate of Luther.

"After all, the overmastering impression upon anyone who has followed day by day the course of Luther's life is not the extent of his influence and the reach of his prophetic vision, but the greatness of his personality. Full of faults he was, faults of temper and of taste,—passionate, domineering, obstinate, prejudiced, violent, vituperative, and coarse—but he was a man through and through,—a man of heroic mould, courageous, strong, masterful, frank, sincere and generous, as far from petty jealousy and cowardly duplicity as from priggishness and cant. Deadly in earnest, and yet with the rare and saving grace of humor, which guarded him from the danger of taking trivial things too seriously, relieved the strain both for himself and his followers in times of greatest stress, and gave him entrance to the hearts of men the wide world over. Born to rule, though he never held official position, and owed nothing to his station, though he died as he had lived, a mere preacher and professor of theology in a small and out-of-the-way town, he dominated more than half the western world, and the whole of it has changed because he lived. He was built on no ordinary scale, this redoubtable German. He was of titanic stature, and our common standards fail adequately to measure him. But his life lies open to the world, as do few other lives in history. To know it as we may is well worth the effort."*

Dr. C. P. Krauth says of him:—

"Though he rose wonderously to a divine ideal, he did not cease to be a man of men. He won the trophies of power, and the garlands of affection. Potentates feared him, and little children played with him * * * He

*McGiffert, Martin Luther, concluding paragraphs.

C. P. Krauth on Luther.

was the best teacher of freedom and of loyalty. He has made the righteous throne stronger, and the innocent cottage happier. He knew how to laugh, and how to weep * * * He was tried by deep sorrow, and brilliant fortune; he begged the poor scholar's bread, and from Emperor and estates of the realm received an embassy with a prince at its head; * * * but whether lured by the subtlest flattery or assailed by the powers of hell, tempted with the mitre, or threatened with the stake, he came off more than conqueror in all. He made a world rich forevermore, and, stripping himself in perpetual charities, died in poverty. He knew how to command—for he had learned how to obey. * * * He combined the aggressiveness of a just radicalism with the moral resistance—which seemed to the fanatic the passive weakness—of a true conservatism. Faith-inspired, he was faith-inspiring. * * * The world knows his faults. He could not hide what he was. His transparent candor gave his enemies the material of their misrepresentation; but they cannot blame his infirmities without being witness to the nobleness which made him careless of appearance in a world of defamers. For himself, he had as little of the virtue of caution as he had, toward others, of the vice of dissimulation. Living under thousands of jealous and hating eyes, in the broadest light of day, the testimony of enemies but fixes the result: that his faults were those of a nature of the most consummate grandeur and fulness."*

What a marvelous man he was! How humble! How strong his faith! How human his sympathy! How sharp his recoil from sin and falsehood! With all the mighty conflicts of his life,

*Krauth, Conservative Reformation, p. 86f.

he never ceased his close and intimate touch with the common things of normal human life. In the midst of his trials he writes to his little children. He defies the Pope with a flower in his hand. Assailed on the right hand and on the left, he steered a straight course and true, standing firmly on the Word of God.

## QUESTIONS.

1. Describe Luther's appearance.
2. Describe his disposition and tastes.
3. Tell of his marriage.
4. Describe his home life.
5. Tell of his children.
6. What were Luther's occupations?
7. What is his greatest work?
8. How did he value the Bible?
9. Why do you value the Bible?
10. Why did he write his Catechisms?
11. Have you read both and memorized the Small Catechism?
12. How did he change the Order of Service in the Church?
13. What relation does his revision bear to the services in use today in the Lutheran and Episcopal Churches?
14. Is it better to have a form of service or to worship without forms?
15. Why did Luther introduce Hymn Singing?
16. What else did Luther write?
17. State your estimate of Luther.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### Other Reformations.

The Reformation in Germany was not the only reformation in the Sixteenth Century. In fact it was but one of many. Reformation was in the air all over Europe.

The Lutheran Reformation in Denmark.

Shortly after Luther burned the Papal Bull in 1520 the King of Denmark, Christian II., sought to introduce the Reformation into his dominions. He was especially eager to lay hands on the extended properties of the Church. His cruelty caused a revolt and he was compelled to flee from the country.

John Tausen.

His successor, Frederick I., was successful in introducing the Reformation. Through the influence of John Tausen, the "Luther of Denmark," Lutheran teachings made great progress among the people of every rank, especially after the Roman clergy refused to debate with the Lutherans in 1530.

Bugenhagen.

In 1536 the bishops were stripped of their civil authority and property. Bugenhagen was sent by Luther to assist in the establishment of the Church in Denmark. Seven superintendents were appointed, who were later known as bishops. The Reformation was carried on in a

conservative way. Revised services were introduced and the people gradually instructed in the Lutheran faith.

Lutheran Reformation in Sweden.

Sweden revolted from Denmark in 1520 following a cruel massacre by Christian II. Gustavus Ericson or Vasa was made regent. In 1523 he was crowned King of Sweden. Two-thirds of the land in Sweden belonged to the clergy and the rest to the nobles. Gustavus had gone into debt to bring the revolt to a successful issue. He had a hard problem before him—to pay his debts and finance the Kingdom. Lutheran doctrine had been preached in Sweden since 1519 when Olaus and Laurentius Petri returned from studying at Wittenberg in Germany. They had been deeply influenced by Luther. Among many other converts they succeeded in winning a prominent archdeacon, Laurentius Andreæ. Gustavus Vasa himself had heard and approved their preaching. He therefore protected them against attacks by the Roman clergy. He even promoted them to positions of influence and honor. The Catholic bishops demanded that they be silenced. They replied by challenging the Catholics to a debate, which added to their prestige. In 1526 Laurentius Petri published the New Testament in Swedish. In 1527 the King presented an ultimatum to the Diet. He could no longer conduct the government on the slender income which remained after the

The Petri Brothers.

Laurentius Andreæ.

Gustavus Vasa.

clergy and nobles had absorbed most of the revenue of the realm. He demanded that all Church property should become the property of the King. At first the Diet refused. The King then presented his resignation. After three days' debate, he won. The Church lands were confiscated and the clergy made subordinate to the King. The Diet passed ordinances and regulations which legalized the Reformation. So the King became supreme in the Swedish Church. Episcopal government was retained. The Reformation was carried out on very conservative lines. In 1530 a Hymn Book was adopted. In 1531 a Form of Service revised on Lutheran models was inaugurated. Laurentius Andreæ had been appointed Archbishop of Upsala in 1527 and the National Synod of 1528 was conservatively Lutheran.

The King, Head of the Church.

Conservative Reformation.

While Luther was working for reform in Germany, Ulrich Zwingli was doing similar work in Zurich, the chief city of eastern or German Switzerland. Zwingli was about the same age as Luther. He began his reformation in Zurich after he had been chosen City Preacher in 1519. Zurich enjoyed many privileges and was practically independent. By 1524 Zwingli had succeeded in overthrowing the power of the Pope in Zurich. He differed from Luther in some points as has already been noted (p. 109), and he went farther in changing the services and

Zwingli in Zurich 1519.

His Political Reformation.

Church customs than Luther did. Zwingli's reforms were not only ecclesiastical but he planned to overthrow both Pope and Emperor. He formed a political alliance of the Cantons or small states of Switzerland which were ready to support the Reformation. Thus politics early entered and colored the Swiss Reformation. Zwingli was killed at the Battle of Cappel fought between the Catholic and Protestant troops of Switzerland in 1531. His principles and doctrines were held in the south of Germany, along the Rhine and in the Netherlands. In 1563 Zwinglian theologians drew up the Heidelburg Catechism which has remained the chief statement of the doctrine of the Zwinglian or Reformed Church to the present day.

Death at the Battle of Cappel, 1531.

Zwinglianism in South Germany, along the Rhine in the Netherlands.

Three years after Zwingli's death William Farel began to preach reformed doctrine in Geneva, the chief city of western or French Switzerland. It was also a free city with unusual privileges of self-government. He persuaded John Calvin, an able Frenchman, who had favored the Reformation since his student days in Paris, to remain in Geneva and assist him in his plans for the Reformation there. Calvin reluctantly acquiesced. He soon became the leader and practical dictator of the Church in Geneva. Shortly before he went to Geneva he published "the Institutes of the Christian Religion." It is a careful and logical exposition of

Reformation in Geneva.

John Calvin.

The "Institutes of the Christian Religion."

Christian doctrine. Though he was exiled from Geneva from 1539-1541, the people were glad to call him back. Until the end of his life he directed the religious and civil government of the city and guided the progress of the Reformation in France. Just as Zwingli had turned his attention to political reformation in Zurich, so Calvin did in Geneva. The city was governed most strictly but most efficiently under his direction. In both of the Swiss Reformation movements political reform is included in religious reform and directed by it. Though the German Reformation was influenced by politics and in turn influenced political developments there, Luther never attempted to dictate the policy of the state as both Zwingli and Calvin did in Switzerland.

Calvin and Municipal Government.

Calvinism spread in France where the Protestants were called Huguenots.

The Huguenots in France.

One of his ardent disciples, John Knox, carried it to Scotland and became the founder of Scotch Presbyterianism which led to the Puritan movement in England, influenced the Baptists very largely, and lies at the root of American Presbyterianism.

John Knox. Calvinism in Scotland.

Presbyterianism.

In the universities of England many of the teachers were influenced by Luther as well as by the reform movements and doctrines of the preceding century. They wished for a reformation. Henry VIII. was able to take advantage of these

The Reformation in England.

Lutheran Influence.

movements and secured the Act of Supremacy from Parliament in 1534. This separated the Church in England from the Church of Rome and made the King supreme. Henry made few changes in the doctrines or practices of the Church. But the way was opened for his successors to make the Church of England distinctly Protestant, particularly under Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth. In 1559 the Book of Common Prayer was issued in a revised and Protestant form. In 1562 the Thirty-Nine Articles which still form the authoritative statement of the doctrine of the Church of England, were adopted. The influence of Calvinism is strong in them. Many Calvinists, however were not satisfied with them and the Puritan movement developed before the end of the century.

Henry VIII. 1534.

Edward VI. and Elizabeth.

The Thirty-nine Articles.

Puritanism.

In the Church of Rome itself a counter reformation took place. Its doctrinal positions were defined by a council, called the Council of Trent, though the council was not in session at Trent all the time. The results of its deliberations were published in 1564. At the same time a Roman Catechism appeared. Its service forms were standardized in the Breviary of 1568 and the Missal 1570. In 1590 a Latin Bible was published and declared to be infallible.

The Counter Reformation in the Roman Church, 1564.

So by the end of the century north Germany and Scandinavia were Lutheran. South Germany, the Rhine region, German Switzerland

Geographical Distribution of Protestantism in the Sixteenth Century.

and the Netherlands, predominantly Reformed. French Switzerland, Scotland, England and the Huguenots in France were Calvinistic. Spain, Italy, most of France and parts of Germany remained Roman Catholic.

Various Appeals of the Reformation to various classes of men.

The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century was a complex movement. Men assisted or hindered it from various motives. Kings found it a handy instrument with which to curb the power of the nobles or to influence the Pope. The nobles often favored it when it helped them against the exactions of the Church or their Kings. Scholars welcomed it as liberating them from the trammels of the dead past. The common people hoped to find in it a means of breaking the power of their lords and the bondage of centuries. The merchants and manufacturers favored it when it increased the power of their class. Men of troubled conscience found in it the way to peace and were willing to die for its truths. The Reformation must never be thought of in isolation. It was part of the great reconstruction of the whole of life and thought which beginning in the Renaissance of Art and Learning, through discoveries in science and manufacturing, spread to every part of life in every state of Europe.

The Reformation part of a Great Movement of New Thought and Life.

The Various Sources of the Reformation

The various streams of the Reformation rose from different sources and progressed under the guidance of men of differing personality and

training to varying results: Lutheranism, Zwinglianism, Calvinism, Anabaptism, Puritanism, etc. The very principle that all these movements had in common,—Individual Interpretation of the Bible as the only authority in faith and religion, naturally led to various doctrines and practices. As long as Protestantism stands on that foundation we must look for division among her forces. Division is not to be feared so much as hypocrisy. Division, however, does not imply that coöperation is impossible. For that we must work. Differences of national, racial and personal experiences lead to differences of point of view. Predominant interest in political, social, intellectual, artistic or other problems of human life will also cause differences of perspective and emphasis.

The Common Principle of Protestanism

Results in Diversity.

When we learn Paul's great lesson that the body, even the body of Christ, is not one member but many; and that each has its own function necessary to all, at the same time that all are necessary to it; and that respecting and honoring each the other we work together

Diversity is Normal.

"With all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love; giving diligence to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye also were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all. But unto each one of us was the grace given according to the measure of the

Coöperation of Various Units with various functions necessary.

gift of Christ * * * for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ: till we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ: * * * speaking the truth in love, may grow up in all things into Him, who is the head, even Christ; from whom all the body fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love."*

Paul on Diversity and Coöperation

How the Denominations should regard each other and work together.

When we learn and practice that, we shall truly carry on the work of the Twentieth Century and bring to perfection the Reformation begun in the Sixteenth Century. Unity in the faith is not uniformity. If each of the various denominations will truly and sincerely teach that for which it stands with respect for the sincerity of others and with willing coöperation where there is possibility of united effort, Protestantism will undoubtedly advance and the souls of men be reached and saved.

QUESTIONS.

1. How did the Reformation begin in Denmark?
2. Who introduced Lutheran doctrine in Sweden?
3. How was the Lutheran Reformation established in Sweden?
4. Who was Zwingli?

*Epistle to the Ephesians.

5. How did his reform movement differ from Luther's?
6. In what countries was Zwinglianism dominant?
7. Who began the Reformation of French Switzerland?
8. Who carried it to completion?
9. What book did he publish?
10. Into what countries did Calvinism spread?
11. How did the Reformation affect the Church in England?
12. Under what sovereigns was Protestantism established in England?
13. What is the statement of faith of the Church of England called and what is its nature?
14. How did the Reformation affect the Church of Rome?
15. What great Council determined the doctrine of the Church of Rome?
16. What publications fixed its form of worship?
17. What is the Roman Bible?
18. Show in what countries of Europe the various streams of Protestantism prevailed.
19. Briefly review the motives that led different classes of men to support the Reformation.
20. Why did the Reformation have different doctrines and practices in different places?
21. Can we expect a united Protestantism?
22. How can Protestantism be strong and effective without unity?
23. What in your estimation prevents unity of Protestants today?
24. Name the efforts in which you think that Protestants might coöperate fruitfully.
25. How does the Lutheran Church coöperate with others?

26. In what does your congregation coöperate with others?
27. In what ways is your congregation showing distinctly to what denomination it belongs?
28. How are you personally showing your colors?
29. How are you helping and coöperating with other Christians?

# APPENDICES.

# APPENDIX I.

## Chronological Tables.

### TABLE A.

### *General Table of Dates.*

1450 Printing by Gutenberg.
1453 Constantinople captured by the Turks.
1483 November 10, Martin Luther born.
1484 January 1, Ulrich Zwingli born.
1492 Columbus discovered America.
1497 Melanchthon born.
1501 Luther at Erfurt.
1505 Luther enters the Monastery.
John Knox born.
1509 John Calvin born.
1512 Luther made a Doctor of Theology.
1517 October 31, The Ninety-five Theses.
1518 Zwingli preaches against Indulgences.
1519 Death of Emperor Maximilian I.; Election of Charles V.
Leipsic Debate.
Zwingli preacher at Zurich.
Cortez in Mexico.
1520 Luther's Open Letter to the Nobility, Babylonian Captivity.
Liberty of a Christian Man.
Luther burns the Papal Bull.
1521 Luther at the Diet of Worms, April.
Luther at the Wartburg, May 4 to March 3, 1522.
Luther begins to translate the New Testament in December.
Magellan sails around the world.

1522 Luther returns to Wittenberg.
New Testament published in September.
Zwinglian Theology in the Netherlands.
1523 Luther's revised Order of Public Worship.
Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden. Reformation introduced into Sweden.
1524 The Peasants' Revolt.
First Lutheran Hymn Book.
Thorough Zwinglian Reformation in Zurich.
1525 End of the Peasants' Revolt.
Death of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony; John the Constant succeeds him.
Luther against Erasmus.
Luther marries Catherine von Bora.
Anabaptist movement.
1527 Frederick I. King of Denmark; Lutheran Reformation in Denmark.
Luther visits the Churches of Saxony.
Zwingli's political reformation in Switzerland.
1529 The Protest at the Diet of Spires.
Luther's Catechisms.
Switzerland divided.
Luther and Zwingli meet at Marburg.
1530 The Augsburg Confession.
Zwingli plans to abolish Pope and Emperor.
1531 Zwingli slain.
The Schmalkald League.
1532 John Frederick becomes Elector of Saxony.
1534 Reformation in Geneva. Wm. Farel.
English Parliament passes the Act of Supremacy making the King of England the only supreme head on earth of the Church in England.
1536 Reformation firmly established in Denmark.
Calvin's "Institutes" published.
Calvin comes to Geneva.

1540 The Society of Jesus (Jesuits) constituted by the Pope against Protestants: Ignatius Loyola. Xavier.
1542 Presbyterian government in Geneva under Calvin.
1545-1563 Council of Trent. Roman Catholic doctrines finally determined.
1546 February 18, Luther's Death.
1548 Book of Common Prayer in England. Revised 1553; 1559.
1555 Religious Peace of Augsburg; Lutherans granted territorial rights.
1558 Queen Elizabeth in England.
1559 John Knox in Edinburgh.
1560 Scotch Confession and Presbyterian regulations.
1562 Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. Huguenots gain right to worship outside of cities.
1563 Heidelberg Catechism of the Zwinglians or Reformed.
1567 Puritans in England.
Inquisition in the Netherlands.
1572 Massacre of Protestants (St. Bartholomew) in France.
1579 Independence of the Netherlands. Protestant triumph.
1577 Formula of Concord.
1579 Independence of the Netherlands. Protestant.
1588 The Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
1598 Edict of Nantes. Liberty of conscience in France. Rights secured (temporarily) to Protestants.

TABLE B.

*Lutheran Dates.*

1483 Luther born.
1517 The Ninety-five Theses.

1519 The Leipsic Debate.
1521 The Diet at Worms.
1523 Lutheran Reformation in Sweden.
1527 Lutheran Reformation in Denmark.
1529 Luther's Catechisms; Protest at Spires.
1530 The Augsburg Confession.
1546 Luther's Death.
1555 The Religious Peace of Augsburg.
1577 The Formula of Concord.
Lutheran Reformation predominated in North Germany, Denmark and Scandinavia.

TABLE C.

*Zwinglian Dates.*

1484 Zwingli born.
1519 Zwingli in Zurich.
1522 Zwinglian Theology in the Netherlands.
1524 Reformation established in Zurich.
1527 Zwingli's Political Reform in Switzerland.
1530 Zwingli against Pope and Emperor.
1531 Zwingli's Death.
1559 Inquisition in the Netherlands.
1563 Heidelberg Catechism.
Zwinglianism predominated in South Germany, along the Rhine, and in the Netherlands.

TABLE D.

*Calvanistic Dates.*

1505 Knox born.
1509 Calvin born.
1534 Farel's reformation in Geneva.
1536 Calvin in Geneva.

1541-1564 Calvin ruling Geneva.
1559 First Reformed Synod at Paris.
1560 Scotch Confession and Presbyterianism.
1562 Protestant Worship tolerated in France outside the cities.
1572 Massacre of St. Bartholomew.
1598 Edict of Nantes.
Calvinism predominated in western Switzerland and Scotland. It had a foothold in France and England and the Netherlands.

TABLE E.

*English Reformation Dates.*

1534 Act of Supremacy.
1540 Book of Common Prayer; revised later.
1559 Act of Uniformity. Book of Common Prayer.
1562 The Thirty-nine Articles.
1567 Puritan reaction against clericalism and uniformity.

TABLE F.

*Roman Catholic Dates.*

1503-13 Pope Julius II.
1513-21 Pope Leo X.
1522-23 Pope Adrian VI.
1523-34 Pope Clement VII.
1527 Sack of Rome by Charles V.
1534-49 Pope Paul III.
1540 Jesuits constituted. Xavier in Asia.
1545 Beginning of the Council of Trent.
1550-54 Pope Julius III.
1555-59 Pope Paul IV.
1559-65 Pope Pius IV.
1564 The Index of Prohibited Books.

1566-72 Pope Pius V.
1568 The Breviary.
1570 The Roman Missal.
1572-85 Pope Gregory XIII.
1585-90 Pope Sixtus V.
1590 The "Infallible" edition of the Latin Vulgate.

TABLE G.

*Famous Men in Art, Science, Literature, etc.*

1473-1543 Copernicus, founder of modern astronomy.
1571-1630 Kepler, great mathematician and astronomer.
1546-1601 Tycho Brahe, mathematician and astronomer.
1452-1519 Leonardo da Vinci, Italian artist.
1471-1528 Albrecht Duerer, German artist and engraver.
1475-1564 Michael Angelo, Italian artist and architect.
1478-1535 Sir Thomas More. (Utopia, 1516.)
1485-1536 Tyndale.
1553-1599 Edmund Spencer.
1564-1616 William Shakespeare.

TABLE H.

*Sovereigns.*

The Emperors.
1493-1519 Maximilian I.
1519-1556 Charles V.
1556-64 Ferdinand I.
1564-76 Maximilian II.
1576-1612 Rudolph.
England.
1509-47 Henry VIII.
1547-53 Edward VI.

1553-58 Mary (Bloody).
1558-1603 Elizabeth.

France.

1515-1547 Francis I.
1547-59 Henry II. and Catherine de Medici.
1559-60 Francis II.
1560-74 Charles IX.
1574-89 Henry III.
1589-1610 Henry IV. (Navarre).

Denmark.

1523-33 Frederick I.

Sweden.

1523-60 Gustavus Vasa.

Spain.

1516-58 Charles.
1558-98 Philip II.

## APPENDIX II.

## THE THESES.

In the desire and with the purpose of elucidating the truth, a disputation will be held on the underwritten propositions at Wittenberg, under the presidency of the Reverend Father Martin Luther, Monk of the Order of St. Augustine, Master of Arts and Sacred Theology, and ordinary Reader of the same in that place. He therefore asks those who can not be present and discuss the subject with us orally, to do so by letter in their absence. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

1. Our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, in saying; "Repent ye," etc., intended that the whole life of believers should be penitence.

2. This word can not be understood of sacramental penance, that is, of the confession and satisfaction which are performed under the ministry of priests.

3. It does not, however, refer solely to inward penitence; nay, such inward penitence is naught, unless it outwardly produces various mortifications of the flesh.

4. The penalty thus continues as long as the hatred of self—that is, true inward penitence—continues; namely, till our entrance into the kingdom of heaven.

5. The Pope has neither the will nor the power to remit any penalties, except those which he has imposed by his own authority, or by that of the canons.

6. The Pope has no power to remit any guilt, except by declaring or warranting it to have been remitted by God; or at most by remitting cases reserved for himself; in which cases, if his power were despised, guilt would certainly remain.

7. God never remits any man's guilt, without at the same time subjecting him, humbled in all things, to the authority of his representative, the priest.

8. The penitential canons are imposed only on the living, and no burden ought to be imposed on the dying, according to them.

9. Hence the Holy Spirit acting in the Pope does well for us, in that, in his decrees, he always makes exception of the article of death and of necessity.

10. Those priests act wrongly and unlearnedly, who, in the case of the dying, reserve the canonical penances for purgatory.

11. Those tares about changing of the canonical into the penalty of purgatory seem surely to have been sown while the bishops were asleep.

12. Formerly the canonical penalties were imposed not after, but before absolution, as tests of true contrition.

13. The dying pay all penalties by death, and are already dead to the canon laws, and are by right relieved from them.

14. The imperfect soundness or charity of a dying person necessarily brings with it great fear, and the less it is, the greater the fear it brings.

15. This fear and horror is sufficient by itself, to say nothing of other things, to constitute the pains of purgatory, since it is very near to the horror of despair.

16. Hell, purgatory and heaven appear to differ as despair, almost despair, and peace of mind differ.

17. With souls in purgatory it seems that it must needs be that, as horror diminishes, so charity increases.

18. Nor does it seem to be proved, by any reasoning or any Scriptures, that they are outside of the state of merit or of the increase of charity.

19. Nor does this appear to be proved, that they are sure and confident of their own blessedness, at least all of them, though we may be very sure of it.

20. Therefore the Pope, when he speaks of the plenary remission of all penalties, does not mean simply of all, but only of those imposed by himself.

21. Thus those preachers of indulgences are in error who say that, by the indulgences of the Pope, a man is loosed and saved from all punishment.

22. For in fact he remits to souls in purgatory no penalty which they would have had to pay in this life according to the canons.

23. If any entire remission of all penalties can be granted to any one, it is certain that it is granted to none but the most perfect, that is, to very few.

24. Hence the greater part of the people must needs be deceived by this indiscriminate and high-sounding promise of release from penalties.

25. Such powers as the Pope has over purgatory in general, such has every bishop in his own diocese, and every curate in his own parish, in particular.

26. The Pope acts most rightly in granting remission to souls, not by the power of the keys (which is of no avail in this case), but by the way of suffrage.

27. They preach man, who say that the soul flies out of purgatory as soon as the money thrown into the chest rattles.

28. It is certain that, when the money rattles in the chest, avarice and gain may be increased, but the suffrage of the Church depends on the will of God alone.

29. Who knows whether all the souls in purgatory desire to be redeemed from it, according to the story told of Saints Severinus and Paschal?

30. No man is sure of the reality of his own contrition, much less of the attainment of plenary remission.

31. Rare as is a true penitent, so rare is one who truly buys indulgences—that is to say most rare.

32. Those who believe that, through letters of pardon, they are made sure of their own salvation, will be eternally damned along with their teachers.

33. We must especially beware of those who say that these pardons from the Pope are that inestimable gift of God by which man is reconciled to God.

34. For the grace conveyed by these pardons has respect only to the penalties of sacramental satisfaction, which are of human appointment.

35. They preach no Christian doctrine, who teach that contrition is not necessary for those who buy souls out of purgatory or buy confessional licenses.

36. Every Christian who feels true compunction has of right plenary remission of pain and guilt, even without letters of pardon.

37. Every true Christian, whether living or dead, has a share in all the benefits of Christ, and of the Church, given him by God, even without letters of pardon.

38. The remission, however, imparted by the Pope is by no means to be despised, since it is, as I have said, a declaration of divine remission.

39. It is a most difficult thing, even for the most learned theologians, to exalt at the same time in the eyes of the people the ample effect of pardons and the necessity of true contrition.

40. True contrition seeks and loves punishment; while the ampleness of pardon relaxes it, and causes men to hate it, or at least gives them occasion for them to do so.

41. Apostolic pardons ought to be purchased with caution, lest the people should falsely suppose that they are placed before other good works of charity.

42. Christians should be taught that it is not the mind of the Pope that the buying of pardons is to be in any way compared with works of mercy.

43. Christians should be taught that he who gives to a poor man or lends to a needy man, does better than if he bought pardons.

44. Because, by a work of charity, charity increases, and the man becomes better; while, by means of pardons, he does not become better, but only freer from punishment.

45. Christians should be taught that he who sees any one in need, and, passing him by, gives money for pardons, is not purchasing for himself the indulgence of the Pope, but the anger of God.

46. Christians should be taught that, unless they have superfluous wealth, that they are bound to keep what is necessary for the use of their own households, and by no means to lavish it on pardons.

47. Christians should be taught that, while they are free to buy pardons, they are not commanded to do so.

48. Christians should be taught that the Pope, in granting pardons, has both more need and more desire that devout prayer should be made for him, than that money should be readily paid.

49. Christians should be taught that the Pope's pardons are useful, if they do not put their trust in them, but most hurtful, if through them they lose the fear of God.

50. Christians should be taught that, if the Pope were acquainted with the exactions of the preachers of pardons, he would prefer that the Basilica of St. Peter should be burnt to ashes, than that it should be built up with the skin, flesh, and bones of his sheep.

51. Christians should be taught that, as it would be the duty, so it would be the wish of the Pope, even to sell, if necessary, the Basilica of St. Peter, and to give of his own money to the very many of those from whom the preachers of pardons extract money.

52. Vain is the hope of salvation through letters of pardon, even if a commissary—nay, the Pope himself, —were to pledge his own soul for them.

53. They are enemies of Christ and of the Pope, who, in order that pardons may be preached, condemn the Word of God to utter silence in their churches.

54. Wrong is done to the Word of God when, in the same sermon, an equal or longer time is spent on pardons than on it.

55. The mind of the Pope necessarily is that, if pardons, which are a very small matter, are celebrated with single bells, single processions, and single ceremonies, the Gospel, which is a very great matter, should be preached with a hundred bells, a hundred processions, and a hundred ceremonies.

56. The treasures of the Church, whence the Pope grants indulgences, are neither sufficiently named or known among the people of Christ.

57. It is clear that they are at least not temporal treasures, for these are not so readily lavished, but only accumulated by many of the preachers.

58. Nor are they the merits of Christ and of the saints, for these, independently of the Pope, are always working grace to the inner man, and the cross, death, and hell to the outer man.

59. St. Lawrence said that the treasures of the Church are the poor of the Church, but he spoke according to the use of the word in his time.

60. We are not speaking rashly when we say that the keys of the Church, bestowed through the merits of Christ, are that treasure.

61. For it is clear that the power of the Pope is alone sufficient for the remission of penalties and of reserved cases.

62. The true treasure of the Church is the Holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God.

63. This treasure, however, is deservedly most hateful, because it makes the first to be the last.

64. While the treasure of indulgences is deservedly most acceptable, because it makes the last to be the first.

65. Hence the treasures of the Gospel are nets, wherewith of old they fished for the men of riches.

66. The treasures of indulgences are nets, wherewith they now fish for the riches of men.

67. Those indulgences, which the preachers loudly proclaim to be the greatest graces, are seen to be truly such as regard the promotion of gain.

68. Yet they are in reality in no degree to be compared to the grace of God and the piety of the cross.

69. Bishops and curates are bound to receive the commissaries of apostolical pardons with all reverence.

70. But they are still more bound to see to it with all their eyes, and take heed with all their ears, that these men do not preach their own dreams in place of the Pope's commission.

71. He who speaks against the truth of apostolic pardons, let him be anathema and accursed.

72. But he, on the other hand, who exerts himself against the wantonness and licenses of speech of the preachers of pardons, let him be blessed.

73. As the Pope justly thunders against those who use any kind of contrivance to the injury of the traffic in pardons.

74. Much more it is his intention to thunder against those who, under the pretext of pardons, use contrivances to the injury of holy charity and of truth.

75. To think that Papal pardons have such power that they could absolve a man even if—by an impossibility—he had violated the Mother of God, is madness.

76. We affirm on the contrary that Papal pardons cannot take away even the least of venial sins, as regards its guilt.

77. The saying that, even if St. Peter were now Pope, he could grant no greater graces, is blasphemy against St. Peter and the Pope.

78. We affirm on the contrary that both he and any other Pope has greater graces to grant, namely, the Gospel, powers, gifts of healing, etc. (1 Cor. 12:9).

79. To say that the cross set up among the insignia of the Papal arms is of equal power with the cross of Christ is blasphemy.

80. Those bishops, curates, and theologians who allow such discourses to have currency among the people, will have to render an account.

81. This license in the preaching of pardons makes it no easy thing, even for learned men, t protect the reverence due to the Pope against the calumnies or at all events, the keen questioning of the laity.

82. As for instance: Why does not the Pope empty purgatory for the sake of most holy charity and of the supreme necessity of souls—this being the most just of all reasons—if he redeems an infinite number of souls for the sake of that most fatal thing, money, to be spent on building a Basilica—this being a very slight reason?

83. Again: Why do funeral masses and anniversary masses for the deceased continue and why does not the Pope return, or permit the withdrawal of funds bequeathed for this purpose, since it is a wrong for them to pray for those who are already redeemed?

84. Again: What is this new kindness of God and the Pope, in that, for money's sake, they permit an impious man and an enemy of God to redeem a pious soul which loves God, and yet do not redeem the same pious and beloved soul, out of free charity, on account of its own need?

85. Again: Why is it that the penitential canons, long since abrogated and dead in themselves in very fact and not only by usage, are yet still redeemed with

money, through the granting of indulgences, as if they were full of life?

86. Again: Why does not the Pope, whose riches are at this day more ample than those of the wealthiest of the wealthy, build the one Basilica of St. Peter with his own money, rather than that of poor believers?

87. Again: What does the Pope remit or impart to those who, through perfect contrition, have a right to plenary remissions and participations?

88. Again: What greater good would the Church receive if the Pope, instead of once, as he does now, were to bestow these remissions and participations a hundred times a day on any one of the faithful?

89. Since it is the salvation of souls, rather than money, that the Pope seeks by his pardons, why does he suspend the letters and pardons granted long ago, since they are equally efficacious?

90. To repress these scruples and arguments of the laity by force alone, and not to solve them by giving reasons, is to expose the Church and the Pope to the ridicule of their enemies, and to make Christian men unhappy.

91. If then pardons were preached according to the spirit and mind of the Pope, all these questions would be resolved with ease; nay, would not exist.

92. Away then with all those prophets who say to the people of Christ: "Peace, Peace," and there is no peace.

93. Blessed be all those prophets, who say to the people of Christ: "The cross, the cross," and there is no cross.

94. Christians should be exhorted to strive to follow Christ, their Head, through pains, deaths and hells.

95. And thus to enter heaven through many tribulations rather than in the security of peace.

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